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CW 'Open Invitation to Inspection' Sought

PM1701102289 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 10 Jan 89 p 12

[Interview with Nikita P. Smidovich, Soviet Foreign Ministry "expert," by Jean-Pierre Ravery in Paris—date not given, first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Nikita P. Smidovich is one of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's experts taking part in the international conference on chemical weapons. He agreed to answer a few questions from L'HUMANITE between two sessions.

[Ravery] Do you think that reactions from the United States and other countries that have chemical weapons to the USSR's new initiatives in this sphere augur well for the success of the negotiations?

[Smidovich] Yes, I think so. The United States had already demonstrated its goodwill by agreeing with us to carry out exchange visits by experts. By deciding to destroy its stocks of chemical munitions, the USSR wanted to encourage the disarmament process in this sphere. We are convinced that a convention can be concluded very soon.

[Ravery] The United States has launched large-scale production of a new generation of chemical munitions and France expressed the intention of doing likewise a short time ago.

[Smidovich] It is true that when it made that decision, the United States set a bad example and encouraged proliferation. How can you stop other countries from doing what you do? With regard to France, we have taken note of Francois Mitterrand's statements that France is not producing chemical weapons.

[Ravery] What about the stocks it possesses?

[Smidovich] According to Francois Mitterrand, it does not have any.

[Ravery] Do you think that verification of any agreement presents such serious problems as some people say?

[Smidovich] Not at all. It is primarily a matter of political will. As far as we are concerned, we are in favor of very strict monitoring procedures. We accept the principle of an "open invitation to inspection," which implies that the inspectors can carry out compulsory checks on any installation without restriction, aside from residential premises. Moreover, at the end of 1988, we carried out an experiment in satellite detection to make our contribution to the solution of these verification problems.

[Ravery] What do you think of the Arab countries' stance which links chemical weapons with Israel's nuclear weapons?

[Smidovich] The USSR is working for the elimination of both chemical and nuclear weapons. This stance does not present us with any essential problem. But this argument should not be used to hamper the current process. We now have a historic opportunity in the chemical weapons sphere and we must seize it. We are doing all we can to promote negotiations on nuclear weapons. But everything is not progressing at the same rate and it would be dangerous to make the signing of a convention on chemical weapons dependent on progress in the nuclear disarmament sphere.... In addition, let us not forget that every step taken toward disarmament changes the general situation and makes new success possible. Look at what happened with the signing of the U.S.-Soviet treaty on intermediate-range missiles.

[Ravery] What is your view on the case of the Al-Rabitah factory in Libya?

[Smidovich] I would first like to say that we are not involved in the construction of that factory. We have always pursued a policy of nonproliferation, notably by prohibiting transfers of technology. With regard to the Al-Rabitah factory, I think that Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's proposal for an on-site inspection was a step in the right direction. International problems cannot be solved by force.

Prospects for CW Committee Talks Discussed

LD1501121489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] The special committee on chemical weapons will shortly—literally in a few days—begin work in Geneva at the Palais des Nations. For all intents and purposes the talks fall within the framework of the disarmament conference, the winter session of which will open in February. At present the experts who will take part in the special committee meeting are completing their preparations. Here is a report from our Geneva correspondent Vladimir Dmitriyev.

[Begin Dmitriyev recording] The experts are studying and coordinating the initiatives and proposals from various countries, striving to find a common balance of interests, and are presenting the conference with their recommendations on the various aspects of a document whose adoption would make it possible for the world community to finish forever with these barbarous weapons of mass destruction.

The main work on the draft convention is already over. It remains only to agree on the articles concerning international verification [kontrol], including on-site inspection without the right of refusal. The intent is global verification of the nonproduction of chemical weapons. But in this too, observers are stressing, there are now favorable preconditions for progress toward concluding a convention. This is above all connected with the rapprochement between the USSR and the United States, which possess considerable chemical weapons stocks. A more responsible approach to the problem on the part of other states and major initiatives by the Soviet Union were recently put foward at the Paris conference on chemical weapons. Diplomatic circles in Geneva are highlighting the USSR's decision to begin eliminating its chemical weapons stocks even before the conclusion of a convention and to provide interested parties with the results of the analyses of test inspections. [end recording]

Committee Chairman Cited

PM1701161989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Bogumil Sojka, chairman of the UN Disarmament Conference Special Committee on Chemical Weapons, by own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy: "Switzerland: How Many Steps From the Declaration to the Convention"—first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Geneva—The Special Committee on Chemical Weapons—an auxiliary organ of the UN Disarmament Conference—resumes work in Geneva's Palais des Nations on Tuesday.

The participants in the 3-day session of the special committee, comprising 40 states representing various geographical regions of the world and the main military-political groupings, including the Warsaw Pact and NATO, face the responsible task of completing the elaboration of a convention on the complete banning of the production, stockpiling, and use of chemical weapons.

International observers at the Palais des Nations stress that the constructive results of the international conference on chemical weapons just ended in Paris and the commitment proclaimed there by the Soviet Union to begin the unilateral elimination of its chemical weapons arsenals create an atmosphere highly conducive to the success of the special committee's work to complete the convention. How far can these positive forecasts be borne out? Your correspondent put this question to Bogumil Sojka (Poland), chairman of the special committee and a participant in the Paris chemical weapons conference.

[Kosinskiy] What results has the special committee produced?

[Sojka] The Special Committee on Chemical Weapons was set up 8 years ago to elaborate a convention banning the use, production, and stockpiling of chemical weapons, as well as providing for the destruction of existing arsenals. The structure and basic provisions of the convention have now been formulated and many of the details in the appendix to this document, whose 140 pages set out all aspects of the future international agreement, have been clarified. At the same time a number of the convention's provisions need further work or clarification.

[Kosinskiy] What do you see as the main obstacles to the final completion of the convention?

[Sojka] All the participants in the Disarmament Conference in Geneva and the Special Committee on Chemical Weapons are well aware of the convention's weak points, particularly those where differences are surfacing. These are the formal-legal resolutions of the convention and individual definitions in its text. During discussion of them the impression is often created that the settlement of disputes is complicated by the lack of adequate trust between various states.

[Kosinskiy] How could the results of the Paris international conference on chemical weapons reflect on the present session of the special committee?

[Sojka] One of the important tasks today is to ensure continuity and a close link between the Paris conference and the search for ways to destroy chemical weapons which is being conducted in Geneva. The Paris conference's influence on the elaboration of a chemical weapons convention may be particularly beneficial if its positive results give a stimulating political impetus to increasing responsibility for the fate of the convention and accelerating the pace of its completion. The final declaration adopted in Paris openly stresses the need for the rapid solution of the existing problems in elaborating a convention. Figuratively speaking, each of the special committee members has been given a political mandate to do that, as confirmed by the 149 participants in the Paris conference. The upcoming session will show how each special committee member acquits himself of that mandate.

[Kosinskiy] Is it to be expected that the Soviet readiness to begin eliminating its chemical weapons stocks before the conclusion of an international convention on the complete banning and destruction of chemical weapons will set an example for other states to follow?

[Sojka] Formally speaking, as of now only two states in the world—the USSR and the United States—have openly admitted that they possess chemical weapons. It is quite clear which side should logically respond and from whom the world community expects an initiative in response. As for the political effect of the unilateral Soviet initiative, as a participant in the Paris conference I can say that it guaranteed its success to a large extent and convinced everyone that there is only one way to get rid of chemical weapons—by completely destroying them.

[Kosinskiy] Could 1989 be the decisive year in completing the elaboration of a convention?

[Sojka] The Paris chemical weapons conference created a favorable atmosphere for that. The majority of the special committee members stress the existence of the will and desire to accelerate the final elaboration of the convention. The upcoming special committee session will show how far this readiness is to be shown in action. But we hope that the translation of the final declaration at the Paris conference into concrete attitudes and actions by the delegations at the Geneva talks will create an objective opportunity for the successful conclusion of the work on the convention for the complete banning and destruction of chemical weapons.

CW 'Consultations' Begin in Geneva 17 Jan

LD1701222489 Moscow TASS in English 2146 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Geneva January 18 TASS—Multilateral talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons resumed in Geneva Tuesday within the framework of the disarmament conference.

The current round of consultations will continue work to finalize provisions of a future convention on a ban on the development, manufacture, accumulation and use of all kinds of chemical weapons and their elimination.

The consultations will centre, above all, on international challenge inspections (in case one side suspects the other of violating the convention), the ensuring of states' security during the destruction of chemical weapons, and the preclusion of their production in civilian industry.

Head ofthe Soviet delegation to the disarmament conference Yuriy Nazarkin said that the talks will feel a strong impact of the international conference on chemical weapons which closed in Paris on January 11.

"It is highly important now to transform this powerful political impulse into fast headway on unresolved issues at the talks with a view to concluding the convention in the nearest future, as decided by all the 149 participants in the Paris conference," he said.

Nazarkin said the Soviet delegation is ready for the forthcoming responsible work.

econversion of Military Plants 'Imperative'

PM1601130589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 89 p 3

[Unattributed interviews with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy and Academician R.E. Sagdeyev under the "Topical Interview" rubric and the general heading "There Is a Way Out of the Impasse!"—date and place not specified]

[Text] Each year astronomical sums are spent on the arms race in the world. According to experts' figures, over $2.5 billion are spent on military needs in a single day. Is it possible to divert at least part of those billions right now to the needs of the environment, health, medical services, and science (and if so, what must be done)? That question is now answered by V.F. Petrovskiy and R.E. Sagdeyev:

V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister:

There is not a single sphere where reconversion—the transfer of industry working on military needs to the fulfillment of civilian orders—could not take place. That applies to the space, nuclear, and electronic industries, the biological industry, and the chemical industry. According to UN figures, almost one-half of the scientists in the world today are working on military orders; research in the military sphere swallows up almost one-fourth of all the resources allocated in the world for scientific developments. Thus, it is necessary to seek ways and means to make alternative use of this tremendous scientific potential.

The reduction of military spending will produce and is already producing a substantial saving of resources. The destruction of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in accordance with the corresponding treaty will save about R300 million. The reduction of conventional arms (by reducing spending on the upkeep of personnel and military hardware) will also free significant resources.

Of course, the bulk of the resources thus obtained will be spent on the needs of the state which carried out that reduction. However, sums obtained by savings in the military sphere may be used for solving international problems, too: the liquidation of foreign debts, the strengthening of the peacemaking potential of the United Nations, and the protection of the environment.

Academician R.E. Sagdeyev, chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace Against the Nuclear Threat:

Reconversion is the imperative of the times. At a press conference the following figure was given: Right now around 50 percent of the output of military enterprises is exclusively civilian in character. This process will continue. Scientists and broad circles of the public are to play a tremendous role in it.

Reconversion on an international scale is an extremely complex process because there are forces to which it is disadvantageous. In my article published in NOVOYE VREMYA at the end of last year I wrote that the objective laws inherent to the development of the military-industrial complexes in the capitalist world clearly operate in our country, too. After the article I received many letters, some from Soviet military servicemen, which agreed with that idea. Thus glasnost is essential for the successful progress of reconversion. Our country's public itself must have the opportunity to judge how necessary the vast spending on defense is.

Fortunately this question may be considered settled: Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has stated that the Soviet people will be able to acquaint themselves with both the country's military budget and with the total of our military spending.

General Medvedev on Observance of INF Treaty

AU1701185389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 Jan 89 p 6

[Ingolf Bossenz report on interview with Soviet Major General Vladimir Medvedev: "ND Interview at the Moscow Center for Nuclear Risk Reduction—Observance of INF Treaty Comprehensively Verified"]

[Text] In accordance with the treaty signed by the USSR and the United States on the liquidation of intermediate-range missiles, the USSR so far has destroyed 222 out of a total of 889 intermediate-range missiles. As was additionally stated at an international press conference in Moscow on Friday [13 January], marking the 3d anniversary of the program announced by Mikhail Gorbachev to liberate the world from all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000, 312 out of a total of 957 shorter-range missiles have been destroyed. It was said that the U.S. side, too, is meeting its obligations and has liquidated about 25 percent of its respective missile supplies.

Since the INF Treaty became effective, the so-called centers for nuclear risk reduction in both capitals have played a crucial role in the exchange of data on the implementation of this first disarmament agreement in history. At the Soviet center, in the Defense Ministry Building in Moscow, we interviewed its director, Major General Vladimir Medvedev.

The general stressed that the missiles are destroyed in accordance with the provisions of the treaty signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Washington. Both in the Soviet Union and the United States there are at present five places where the missiles, launching pads, and auxiliary facilities are being destroyed, he said.

In the spring of last year, the Soviet center started work simultaneously with the U.S. center, which is based in the State Department in Washington. Under an agreement reached by the secretary of state and the Soviet foreign minister in September 1987, it was envisaged that each would inform the other side about planned launches of ballistic missiles, if their orbits were to leave their own national territory, or if these missiles were to constitute a danger to shipping or air traffic. When the INF Treaty became effective with the exchange of the ratification documents on 1 June 1988, the field of activities of the centers expanded considerably.

Maj Gen Medvedev said that mutual information about the implementation of the treaty has now become a decisive task. Transmitting data on the missiles and launching pads covered by the treaty, informing others about their transport to the sites where they are to be destroyed, and immediately reporting every act of destruction to the other side—all these functions are fulfilled by the Moscow and Washington centers.

During our interview, there was a call from Sarny in the Ukraine: a report on the liquidation of a launching pad for Soviet RSD-10 (SS-20) intermediate-range missiles. This information was immediately passed on to the Washington center via the direct computer line which is secured by two satellites.

On the walls in the office of the shift on duty, maps of the USSR and the United States point to another task of the center on Frunze Street regarding the implementation of the INF Treaty. Flags mark the places where groups of inspectors are currently verifying the observance of the treaty provisions—among them Votkinsk (RSFSR) and Magna (U.S. State of Utah), where permanent control groups inspect plants that formerly produced missiles. Vladimir Medvedev said that the organizational management of the comprehensive on-site inspections in the USSR, laid down in the treaty, is entirely the responsibility of the center for nuclear risk reduction, whereas in the United States, other authorities are responsible in addition to the Washington center.

The director of the Moscow center sees its future clearly. After the missiles have been liquidated, the organization will continue to be the center of on-site inspections up until the year 2001, as laid down in the treaty. Of course, the facility will continue to be responsible for the exchange of data on the launching of ballistic missiles—a function it will exercise for an unlimited period of time.

However, Maj Gen Medvedev would welcome the idea of the center getting additional work in the foreseeable future as a result of the course of the Geneva negotiations between the USSR and the United States, in which he took part from 1985 through 1987. He hopes that existing difficulties will be overcome, and that despite the resistance offered by the opponents of further disarmament measures, an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons will be achieved. The facilities on the Moskva and Potomac Rivers could fulfill important functions in verifying the implementation of such an agreement.

The initiatives announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly on a unilateral reduction in conventional armaments by the USSR are apt to also give new impetus to the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons, Vladimir Medvedev says.

Customs Barriers Within CEMA Discussed

Cooperation Urged

PM1701162389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS observer B. Grishchenko article: "What Have Tourists Got To Do With It?"]

[Text] Having swallowed a bitter pill at the end of last year—measures prohibiting the export of certain types of goods and products from a number of socialist countries—we have responded by erecting barriers supposedly designed to prevent refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, children's items, and caviar from slipping out of the country. At a time when Western Europe is making a determined effort to get rid of customs barriers, the CEMA partner-states are fencing themselves off from each other in order to retain goods and raw materials in the shortest supply for their own markets.

No one has yet come up with a more ineffective way to "saturate" the domestic market. Poverty is generally a bad adviser, as it frequently encourages you to take hasty measures, not all the consequences of which can be foreseen or divined. Despite this, in every country that has resorted to these unquestionably extreme measures you can always find authoritative specialists to prove that they are sensible and relevant.

We will not attempt to analyze the reasons of others, which are, as they say, more obvious to the people concerned. But, as far as our own country is concerned, whose domestic market experienced shortfalls of 500,000 television sets, 200,000 washing machines, and a certain quantity of children's clothing and footwear during three quarters of last year owing to exports abroad, these figures do not explain the acute shortage of a number of goods and products. These shortages developed on the domestic market a long time ago and have unfortunately become a permanent feature of our lives.

Generally speaking, we should be pleased when goods—particularly from the machine-building and electronics sectors—find a market abroad. True, it remains a mystery as to who is attracted by Soviet children's commodities and why. But if they are included on the customs' prohibited list, foreign guests are obviously taking them out of the country in large quantities too.

It seems that while implementing extensive, prestigious programs for the joint acceleration of scientific and technical progress in priority areas of development in all spheres of production and research, we have simultaneously made the decision to "just break even" in everything concerning the manufacture of consumer goods and products, and not simply cling to our old positions but take an appreciable, perhaps even ostentatious, step backwards.

Whatever the explanations given, it is impossible to believe that these measures are reasonable. After all, they have been taken against the background of constantly deepening trade and economic integration between the socialist countries, which is now spoken of as something taken for granted. But the mutual moral damage caused by these actions cannot be measured in television sets, chandeliers, tonnes of coffee, and carpets.

We will do without sanctimonious slogans and say: Yes, few of us find it pleasant when people in stores in Sofia, Prague, Budapest, or Berlin look at our compatriots in alarm lest they suddenly buy up all available stocks of certain goods or organize a waiting line without further ado. A similar picture can be found in our own department stores, where guests buy up the television sets, washing machines, coffee grinders, and irons we have been talking about. The poverty of the domestic market is responsible for both phenomena.

Surely protective customs barriers are not the only way out of the situation? After all, erecting these barriers will only preserve "our" shortages rather than lead to any cardinal improvement.

When announcing the new regulations governing the export of goods in so-called increased demand, every side has hastened to add that they are only temporary and that, please God, the situation will rectify itself and these regulations will die off of their own accord or be revised. Unfortunately, there is nothing more permanent than something temporary. So we should not deceive ourselves or others.

The situation with goods, which is the spark that set the forest on fire, will not change of its own accord—unless it is for the worse.

After all, in the three quarters of last year to which I have already referred, our industry produced just over 7 million television sets but still failed to meet targets for their output. It also failed to meet plan targets for supplying the trade network with refrigerators, freezers, washing machines, and electric vacuum cleaners. This means that tourist purchases are not the main issue here. We must act—and act decisively, without delay. There is no need to look far for examples: Cooperation by partner-countries in the production of Group "A" goods has yielded and continues to yield good results.

Hungarian urban buses, railroad passenger cars from the GDR, Czechoslovakian locomotives, Bulgarian electronic equipment, Polish chemical equipment, Romanian mining equipment, and Soviet cars, turbines, and rolling mills—these are all the fruits of mutually advantageous cooperation and the mutually useful division of labor long appreciated by the partner-countries. So what is stopping us from concentrating our efforts on manufacturing washing machines, say, or refrigerators, clothing and footwear, vacuum cleaners, or domestic electronic equipment for the whole market of socialist countries?

Obviously, it is not particularly difficult to establish the priorities in the production of these goods. All you have to do is study the list of goods prohibited for export in each of the countries concerned. It would not be difficult to select the main enterprises for the production of everything that is in "increased demand" or, to put it more simply, everything that is still always in short supply. We have enough information at our disposal to decide—taking all the economic factors into account—where precisely we can most quickly and inexpensively develop the production of these goods and ensure they are of high quality.

It is a characteristic feature that joint enterprises in CEMA member-countries are also still "bypassing" the production of goods needed by millions of their citizens. Attention to this area could be stimulated by means of preferential rates for raw materials and a reduction of taxes and customs duties.

Such measures are effective only when a serious social problem is solved by all the interested parties together. At the moment, however, the reverse is happening—protecting your "own" sufficiency (or deficit) is no means of combating the poverty of domestic goods markets. And, of course, we should not have started with the tourists in our campaign to make these markets healthier and more stable.

Customs Measures 'Abnormal'

LD1701193089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 17 Jan 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Text] [Korzin] A lot is being written and said at the moment about the supplementary customs restrictions that have been introduced by a number of socialist countries, including the Soviet Union. When the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY held a roundtable meeting a few days ago devoted to the work of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, it was perfectly natural that this question arose. Now I would like to offer you a small fragment of the exchange of opinions that took place there. [video shows large meeting around a table]

[Begin recording] [D. Dimitrov, first councillor of the permanent representative of Bulgaria to the CEMA] Our country was one of the first to introduce limits on the exports of some kinds of goods. Then there was a chain reaction. The GDR, CSSR, and the USSR did so a little later. How is this to be explained? First of all, it is to be explained by the fact that the goods whose export by tourists has been restricted are in insufficient supply on the markets of those countries.

[S. Hradecki, deputy permanent representative of the CSSR] We all know that these customs measures on limitations are abnormal. We want to believe that they are only temporary measures. Quite the contrary, it seems to me that it would be advantageous for our state, Czechoslovakia, if many tourists came and bought a lot in our shops, because from the point of view of the state budget they not only pay the prices of these goods, but the sales tax as well, don't they? This price is much higher than the price for exported goods. But we know that the shortage of goods on the Czechoslovak market is about 7 billion korunas; and every year people come to us not only from the socialist countries but also from Austria, West Germany, and other countries—about 20 million tourists. If each of them buys goods worth only 1,000 korunas, that means 20 billion korunas—three times the shortfall on our market at the present time.

[I. Szigeti, CEMA deputy secretary] In this respect, it was said that we should decide that we must produce more. Why have we not yet made this decision? Is this a new phenomenon of some kind? Is this shortage something new in our countries, our community, in our system one could even say; something new that appeared only a few months ago? No, it has existed as long as we have. Consequently, if we want to solve this problem, it is not just a question of our will, because we have made very many such resolute decisions before, and they did not produce any results.

[A.N. Barkovskiy, deputy head of a department of the permanent mission of the USSR to the CEMA] If we look at what is taken out of the Soviet Union, what strikes one first is that what is taken is not what is unavailable, but what is cheaper. This is to say, it is a question of prices, a question of prices that we must solve sooner or later in the process of working out international market issues, coordinating the action of our economic mechanisms, their unity of direction, and so on; that is, coordinating a whole range of economic policy problems, both internal and external. On the other hand, the real saturation of our internal markets is such that in a number of countries that could be proud of this saturation, it is balanced, so to say, on a knife edge. For example, this is evidently the case of Czechoslovakia and the GDR. I remember some 10 years ago or more what happened when the border between Poland and the GDR was opened. Some people took out boots and technical goods and others took gasoline, meat, and butter in the opposite direction. They were playing, as it were, on the price differences with the neighboring countries. That is why this question is, of course, very complex. It is not a question of a pure customs war, as we call it, between ourselves; it is a question of coordinating our internal economic mechanisms. [end recording]

[Korzin] Well, just this brief exchange of opinions is one more proof of the fact that the difficulties that have arisen at the customs posts is first and foremost a question not of customs, but a question for economists, a question of improving economic mutual relations between the socialist countries.

CEMA Planning Group Meets in Havana 17, 18 Jan

Maslyukov Heads Soviet Group

PM1701112289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] Havana, 16 Jan—The 43d session of the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in the Sphere of Planning Activity opened in the Cuban capital today. Taking part are representatives of the CEMA countries on the committee and leaders of CEMA's central planning bodies. The Soviet delegation is headed by Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan. J. Hoos, Hungarian representative on the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in the Sphere of Planning Activity, is chairing the session.

The agenda for the session, which will last 2 days, includes the analysis of the fulfillment of the decisions adopted at the 44th CEMA session in Prague and questions of the implementation of the collective general scheme for the international socialist division of labor in 1991-2005 and of the special comprehensive programs for multilateral cooperation between the European CEMA countries and Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia. The session will also discuss the results of the work of the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in the Sphere of Planning Activity in the past year, approve plans for work in 1989-1990, and examine a number of other matters.

Maslyukov Meets With Castro

LD1801094589 Moscow TASS in English 0842 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Havana January 18 TASS—A meeting between Fidel Castro, leader of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and president of Cuba's Council of State and of the Council of Ministers, and Yuriy Maslyukov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, took place here. Maslyukov headed the Soviet delegation of the 43rd session of the CMEA commission for cooperation in the field of planning.

A wide range of matters of mutual interest were considered during a detailed exchange of views. The Soviet delegation leader informed Fidel Castro of the results of the January (1989) plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the work to prepare a plenum on agriculture, the discussion of the results of the Soviet Union's economic development in 1988 and in the three years of the current five year plan period as a whole at a meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers as well as the course of discussion of a Soviet socioeconomic development plan for 1989.

Maslyukov told the Cuban leader about the efforts to eliminate the effects of the recent devastating earthquake in Armenia. The conversation was held in a cordial and fraternal atmosphere characteristic of the two countries' relations.

On Tuesday the Soviet delegation led by Yuriy Maslyukov left for home.

Final Communique Reported

LD1801094089 Moscow TASS in English 0733 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Havana January 18 TASS—The 43rd session of the committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) for cooperation in the field of planning came to a close in the Cuban capital on Tuesday. It was attended by the representatives of CMEA member countries on the committee and by the leaders of central planning bodies of CMEA countries.

The Soviet delegation at the session was headed by Yuriy Maslyukov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and the chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee.

A final communique of the session reports that the committee considered matters concerning the realisation of the collective concept of international socialist division of labour for 1991-2005 and the special comprehensive programmes for multilateral cooperation between European CMEA member countries and Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia.

Representatives of the committee member countries exchanged information on the main directions of economic and social development of CMEA countries for the period ending in the year 2000, including questions concerning mutual cooperation.

The representatives' considerations on the matter will be taken into account during the coordination of the national economic development plans of CMEA countries for 1991-1995 and for a longer period.

The committee's session was held in an atmosphere of friendship, comradely cooperation and complete mutual understanding.

Gerasimov Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 17 Jan

Shevardnadze To Address CSCE

LD1701153189 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will leave for Vienna on January 18 to attend the closing ceremony of an all-European meeting which is a follow-up on the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Shevardnadze's address at the ceremony is scheduled for January 19, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, said at a briefing today.

Afghan 'Economic Sabotage'

LD1701141889 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The Afghan opposition is still eager to impose an economic blockade on Kabul, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said on Tuesday.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing here.

He said that opposition groups operating in central Afghanistan are engaging in acts of sabotage in a bid to cut off roads leading to Kabul.

A group from the "Movement for the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan", commanded by Musa, straddled the Kabul-Maidanshahr road in Vardaq Province and the Afghan capital as a result failed to receive a substantial part of its flour and butter supplies, the spokesman said.

In Kabul itself members of opposition groups are attempting economic sabotage. Agents of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" are buying up food at wholesale markets and then taking it out of town, in particular to Lowgar Province.

Many others of Kabul bakeries are scaling down their output and thereby jacking up prices and also floating rumors about a flour shortage.

Gerasimov said that checks by state control agencies give the lie to claims about the dearth of flour.

Many Afghan clergymen are expressing concern about speculative trade in food. In eleven districts in Kabul sermons were delivered during Friday's prayer services, which denounced the profiteering as contradicting Islam. Similar services were held in Jalalabad.

Soviet military units based in Kabul organised the distrubution of flour and kerosene among the population for free.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman condemned the actions of the opposition and said that it should show elementary humaneness and not provoke a food shortage in the country.

Wallenberg Said Dead 1947

LD1701144489 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, at a briefing here today, commented on Swedish newspaper reports about a conversation held between a Swedish representative and Vladimir Andreyev of the USSR Prosecutor's Office on the fate of Swedish citizen Raoul Wallenberg.

The meeting took place in Moscow on December 14 last year, Gerasimov said.

The spokesman then set out the essence of the USSR's principled position on this issue.

"Raoul Wallenberg died in 1947 at the Lubyanka Prison supposedly of heart attack. The fact of his death is, regrettably, beyond doubt.

"Simply no 'fresh evidence' can emerge on this case," he said.

Inter-Korean Dialogue Possible

LD1701145189 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—There are more and more signs indicating that inter-Korean dialogue is gathering momentum, according to Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov.

Speaking to correspondents at a briefing in the ministry's press center, he quoted Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as saying in his statement of January 1:

"The development of the situation in Korea has undergone change which is favorable to the cause of the country's reunification."

Gerasimov said that the prime ministers of the DPRK and South Korea have lately exchanged messages and a real possibility is emerging as a result for organizing an inter-Korean meeting at a high level of military-political issues.

Prime Minister Yon Hyong-muk of the DPRK Administration Council in a letter to the South Korean side on January 16, for example, called for such a meeting to be held in Pyongyang or Seoul.

"The Soviet Union welcomes this kind of movement and is actively supportive of the formation of intra-Korean ties in various fields, in particular the security area," Gerasimov said.

"We believe that economic contacts will be resumed simultaneously with military-political ones," he added.

There are also other constructive ideas and proposals on the inter-Korean negotiation table.

Kim Il-song in his latest speech proposed a political consultative conference between the leaders of North and South.

"We think this is a good idea which should be realized," Gerasimov commented. "We are convinced that the started process of improvement in the situation in Korea will facilitate a better political climate in the Far East as a whole."

Earthquake Casualty Figures

LD1701154089 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The number of dead bodies pulled out from under the wreckage, as well as those who died in hospitals from injuries brought about by the earthquake is estimated today at 24,958, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, reported at a briefing here today. He quoted figures supplied by the Information Department of the USSR Council of Ministers.

At present 2,480 quake victims are in hospitals. 115,763 people have been evacuated from the disaster area, of whom 76,225 have been moved away from Armenia.

The report of the Information Department of the USSR Council of Ministers did not count in those who are reported missing, Gerasimov pointed out.

At the moment 76,500 people are taking part in the reconstruction work in Armenia, including 43,000 builders.

Gerasimov said that according to the information of the Armenian Ministry of the Interior, an attempt had been made in Armenia on January 12 to steal manufactured goods from a French truck that was carrying from Yerevan to Spitak relief supplies brought from France. The truck was escorted by representatives of the French organisation SOS Armenia. "The thieves were arrested and their identity was checked. At present the case is under investigation", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Aeroflot Relief Bills Denied

LD1701143589 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The Soviet airline Aeroflot has not issued bills to the West German Red Cross for the transportation of relief aid for Armenian quake victims. Contrary to claims by some newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a news briefing on Tuesday.

Spokesman Gennady Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, said at the same time that the Hamburg-based Soviet-West German firm Transnautik, which operates in the FRG as an agent for the Soviet Merchant Marine Ministry and Aeroflot, did attempt to issue such bills.

"Obviously, this was due to the firm's failure to understand the situation," Gerasimov said.

"As soon as Aeroflot learnt of the agent firm's actions, it instructed it to recall its financial claims on the Red Cross," he added.

No Journalists at Inauguration

LD1701171389 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Moscow January 17 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will leave for Vienna on January 18 to attend the closing ceremony of the Vienna followup meeting to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a news briefing here on Tuesday. [passage omitted]

Gerasimov said further that the chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Directorate for Middle Eastern and Northern African Countries is currently in Tunisia within the framework of regular Soviet-Palestinian consultations on a Middle East settlement. He met with PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat on Monday. [passage omitted]

Answering a reporter's question about the reason why U.S. authorities have not accredited Soviet newsmen for the ceremonial inauguration of the U.S. President, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that he does not yet have complete information on this score but considers the fact "incomprehensible and very strange". [passage omitted]

Roundtable on Arms Control, Disarmament

LD1501230389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 15 Jan 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with USSR All-Union Radio foreign policy commentator Gennadiy Vedenyapin; Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the editorial board of ZA RUBEZHOM; and Rudolf Georgiyevich Kolchanov, deputy chief editor of TRUD]

[Text] [Vedenyapin] Hello comrades. Taking part in today's program we have Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the editorial board of the weekly ZA RUBEZHOM, and Rudolf Georgiyevich Kolchanov, deputy chief editor of the newspaper TRUD.

As you know, it was precisely 3 years ago today that a statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev setting out a whole range of major long-term foreign-policy moves of a fundamental nature was published. The most important of those moves, of course, was a program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons worldwide, consisting of three stages up to the year 2000. And it was proposed that this step-by-step progression toward a 21st century without nuclear weapons be accomplished together with other measures—the termination of nuclear tests, the renunciation of space weapons, a ban on new military technologies, and the complete elimination of chemical weapons—as well as with reductions in conventional arms and armed forces in Europe.

Of course, we did not expect it to be simple or easy to implement this truly impressive package of new foreign-political initiatives. I remind you that 3 years ago Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement was regarded in the West as an impossible dream. And I am not only talking about the reaction from convinced enemies of disarmament. Mental inertia was a major obstacle, and to this day there are those who believe that nuclear weapons actually help to preserve peace. Nevertheless, over the past 3 years we have seen the ideas contained in that Soviet concept of a nuclear-free world make headway, even though it has been a difficult fight.

[Volskiy] This inevitably gives rise to the question of how the dream could have become reality after all? And I think striking evidence of this is provided by the historic document which is now in force, or being implemented; that is, the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. It is still too early to be talking of a radical turning point, but still a start has been made with the signing of that treaty, which is without doubt, of very great global significance. The process of improvement and recovery in the world situation and the process of disarmament—furthermore nuclear disarmament—have now actually begun.

[Kolchanov] Over these years, original and innovative approaches to key problems in international affairs have been found on the basis of the new political thinking. The unhealthy and dangerous psychology of international confrontation has been countered by the logic of reason, goodwill, and constructive dialogue; international tension has begun to subside; and the world has been become a calmer and safer place. The Cold War is receding and real foundations are being laid to allow mankind to enter a peaceful phase of history.

All this is emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee's address to the Soviet people, which has just been published. It also notes that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is being implemented and that there are reasonable prospects of achieving an accord between the USSR and the United States on strategic offensive arms reductions. And it mentions a whole range of other points besides. In short, these past 3 years have been full of real concrete measures that have demonstrated both the Soviet Union's goodwill and the desire of certain forces in the West to develop a dialogue and ease international tension.

[Vedenyapin] At this juncture I think we ought to get back to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the latest session of the UN General Assembly in New York.

[Kolchanov] Coming back to that speech, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich—and this is undoubtedly the correct and logical thing to do—I would say that it was not only a continuation and development of the program put forward on 15 January 1986, but to me, it introduced new qualitative parameters to the issue. This may seem a bit paradoxical at first, given that 3 years ago the issue was the most menacing weapons, mass-destruction weapons, while now it would seem to be conventional weapons. Firstly, however, the boundary between conventional arms and nuclear weapons is very often blurred—our radio listeners know about the existence of what are called dual-purpose weapons—and secondly, when discussing Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the UN we should not forget the entire set of not only military and political, but also philosophical, problems—all the things that the speech raised and that constitute a fundamental basis for resolving many international problems both before the end of this century and as we enter the new one.

Anyway, let's get back to the specific military proposals made in the speech by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The Soviet Union is carrying out a substantial cut in its armed forces on a unilateral basis and without any compensation. In the course of this year and next year our army will be reduced by 500,000 men; there will be a cut of 10,000 in the number of tanks and 8,500 in artillery systems; and 800 combat aircraft will be taken out of service. Six tank divisions from among the Soviet forces provisionally deployed in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary will be withdrawn and disbanded by 1991. There will also be a substantial cut in our group of armed forces in the Asiatic part of the country.

[Volskiy] As you know, in a perfectly obvious attempt to belittle the significance of our new initiatives, our Western critics are claiming that by reducing its armed forces by 500,000 men, our country is creating qualitatively new conditions for, for instance, more compact interaction within the forces and for more compact and efficient army supply operations. As regards the tank unit reductions, they are saying that we are doing away with obsolete tanks and obsolete equipment that will be no loss to us, as it were.

[Kolchanov] Well, it ought to be said that there is nothing new in these arguments. The most important thing, however, is that they—the arguments—are not now being repeated by the NATO leaders, as used to happen in the past. They are already slipping down into the mass media, and by no means the leading media. The NATO-ites themselves, the NATO leadership, have taken quite a different attitude to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's UN speech, and this is a point worth emphasizing. There were two documents adopted at the December session of the NATO Council in Brussels: a statement on conventional arms control and a communique. These documents recognize that the Soviet proposal is a positive contribution, evidence of the serious approach the Soviet government is now taking to the arms imbalance. The documents likewise point out the importance of developing such encouraging trends around the negotiating table.

It is true, however, that there are certain reservations in the documents as well. They contain, for example, several points writen in the old way about the Soviet Union nevertheless having more tanks and artillery than before, and so on. But one can say with all seriousness that this statement, this NATO reaction to our latest proposal, for the first time sees us not as an enemy, but as a negotiating partner, a partner in creating a reliable system of security for the whole of Europe.

Another thing I would like to note here is the reaction in West Germany. I mention West Germany in particular because, as we know, that country is the most powerful NATO force in Europe in terms of ground forces, air, and even naval forces. So it is worth making note of Bonn's reaction to all this, of course. At the end of last year I happened to have a chat with FRG Defense Minister Scholz, and nuclear weapons was one of the issues we touched upon in the course of that fairly long, fairly lengthy conversation. Scholz' view is that nuclear weapons should remain as a means of deterrence and that tactical nuclear weapons should be modernized. The interesting thing, however, is that there is already a difference of views within his department, his very own department, and this difference of opinion is being expressed not just in some quiet corner, but in the press.

One of the department's heads, Admiral Schmaehling, wrote in the very well-known journal STERN and went much further than what even the political leaders are saying. One of the points he made was that a renunciation of deploying tactical nuclear weapons and nuclear battlefield weapons in West Germany could be a long-term objective of FRG military policy. A very clear and precise stance, as you can see. The admiral also wrote in STERN that the disarmament process now underway requires structural changes in the armed forces of both military alliances. They must be given a nonoffensive nature and the unnatural deployment of foreign forces on one's own territory should be rejected. Thus, to a large extent, there is a similarity of views, a coincidence of views, or at any rate a platform for serious negotiations on these issues as well. So that's the reaction, some of the reactions, to that speech in the West.

[Volskiy] Well it is clear from this that there is no agreement within the NATO ranks, within the NATO camp itself, on the modernization of tactical weapons, and this proves (?quite) objectively just how attractive our initiatives are, and more importantly, how realistic they are. Today we have been devoting a great deal of attention—quite justly and naturally—to global problems. It seems to me, however, that the past week brought some fairly outstanding events in the area—if I may put it that way—of regional conflicts as well. These conflicts usually occur in developing countries in which the correlation of forces has not fully evolved, in which there is an acute confrontation between various political and social forces and where external circles also have certain interests. Anyway, at the moment there is a kind of, I would say, chain reaction going on there. A chain reaction leading not to an exacerbation of regional conflicts, but on the contrary, to an extinguishing of them, toward a settlement of those conflicts. Perhaps the most significant and salient example of that trend over the past week was the beginning of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in accordance with the recently concluded treaty.

[Vedenyapin] I think we ought to point out to the listeners that you are referring to the agreement, the recent agreement between Angola, Cuba, and the RSA on normalizng the situation in southwestern Africa. The agreement is founded on the promulgation of Namibian independence on the basis of the well-known UN Security Council Resolution 435.

[Volskiy] Yes, but the interesting thing is that this Resolution 435 was adopted approximately 10 years ago. Since then it has been lying around, so to speak, in the archives, in safes, or on writing desks in that building on the East River. It was never successfully implemented.

And then there's another Security Council resolution which you might remember, No 598, which brought the Iran-Iraq war to an end. It also lay around in the UN, though admittedly no so long, for about a year. Yet it too was eventually implemented. Finally—or rather I should say it has begun to be implemented—finally, there are two other resolutions—242 and 338 on the Near East, one of which was adopted over 20 years ago and the other something like 15 years ago. Since that time they have not been put into effect either, and there has been no progress in implementing them. But now that the PLO has recognized those resolutions, they are no longer a sort of dead weight but have again become real documents constituting the foundations of the Near East settlement process.

So, what do I mean by all this? That the UN plays an ever-increasing, an ever-more-noticeable political role in regional processes, in the business of settling local hotspots. And this is not fortuitous, of course, because military methods of solving regional disputes are turning out to be useless; not only immmoral, but also ineffective, which both the Iran-Iraq war and other events showed.

[Kolchanov] Dmitriy Antonovich, I want to interrupt you here. I really do agree with you that the facts of recent times show, once again and more graphically, that military methods are really becoming obsolete. But, apparently not everyone thinks so, and in particular the Pentagon leadership, which probably would not otherwise have started carrying out its piratical operations against Libya.

[Volskiy] Yes, of course this was an obvious recurrence of an imperial policy of force. This is what is curious—that after the beginning of the discussion of the raid—of the attack by U.S. aircraft on Libyan aircraft—in the Security Council, this campaign in the United States began to subside. According to certain information, even the closest allies of the United States—not only the FRG, but also let's mention Great Britain—began to put strong pressure on Washington to drop these plans for a raid on the Libyan works. It is characteristic that just before the beginning of the meeting in the Security Council, the U.S. leadership gave the order for the naval exercises—which were of a blatantly provocative nature in the regions of the Mediterranean adjacent to Libya—to be stopped.

What is the significance of all this? The significance of all this is that the situation in the world now is extremely unfavorable to such aggressive, adventurist acts; that they contradict the very process, so to speak, of political development in our time. And this is not the only symptom, as it were, of such a contradiction to the process, to the natural, as it were, objective process of development. One can find them in other regions too.

However, it is also obvious that there are forces, which oppose such a flow of events. We see this not only in Libya, but for example, in Afghanistan. There the extremist wing of the opposition refuses to accept any compromise solutions or concessions at all.

[Vedenyapin] Yes, in connection with that, Dmitriy Antonovich, could you deal in more detail with those contacts which Comrade Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, has had recently?

[Volskiy] Not only the first deputy foreign minister but also the ambassador to Afghanistan, as we know. And all the contacts that he undertook were agreed upon with the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan. It seems to me that these contacts were very useful. Useful above all because they revealed the wide-spread desire for a compromise solution, for the settlement of internal Afghan problems on the part of very different forces that are to various degrees involved in this matter.

It is possible to talk also about the position of the new government of Pakistan headed by Benazir Bhutto. It is far from straightforward; it is quite a contradictory position on the whole but nevertheless, one can see in it nuances of a better policy direction compared to the course that Ziaul Haq followed. This is understandable. It is dictated by the objective interests of Pakistan, first, by its desire to solve the problem of the Afghan refugees living on its territory. Furthermore, it is striving for relations with India to be normalized. And this depends to a certain extent on the development of events in Afghanistan and around it, among other things. There one can also see a definite desire to stop being under the wing of the United States.

It is necessary to say that the Americans themselves, on the whole, now scarcely have such a great interest in aggravating the situation in Afghanistan and obstructing the Geneva accords. If one looks realistically at things, they cannot have an interest in this now for various reasons, in particular because the strengthening of the, so to speak, fundamentalist Islamic forces in Afghanistan is not to the benefit of U.S. policy. It also can undermine the United States' own position in this whole extensive area.

One must say, however, that in Afghanistan itself, these Islamic, so to say—well, let's say, fanatics, not all of them are fanatics; quite a few of them are simply capitalizing on religious feelings—but those who are usually numbered among the Islamic fundamentalists are only one of the currents of the political life in Afghanistan and perhaps by no means the most influential in that country. There are others, of course, besides the forces which are speaking out in favor of the progressive development of the country.

There are the people who simply think in a modern way. The revolution in 1978 stirred, on the whole transformed the country, led it out of stagnation despite all the bloodshed which then followed, despite all those tragic vicissitudes which Afghanistan has experienced and is still experiencing. In general, the country is in a state of constant flux, where both thought and some emotions and traditions are being developed. Some traditions are dying, some new political phenomena are occuring. It is necessary to take all of this into account in the settlement of the Afghan question.

I think that here we must bear in mind that the basic document exists. This basic document is the Geneva accords, which were signed by the Soviet Union and by the United States, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. I want to refer, incidentally, to the address to the party, to the Soviet people by the Central Committee, in which it says: We are doing everything which we can to settle the Afghan question as soon as possible, for the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops in accordance with the Geneva accords.

[Kolchanov] Dmitriy Antonovich, we spoke outwardly different, as it were, questions which are hardly linked to each other—outwardly, I repeat. We talked about the speech of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and NATO's evaluation and reactions to the proposals in that speech. Then we touched on regional conflicts, but I think that there is much that is natural and common in that approach, in our approach to the solution of these conflicts, and in general to our evaluations of these conflicts. The thing is that this really is a crucial time. Much effort is really being put into their solution. One should not become euphoric, but nevertheless there is progress, and the law of force must really give way to the force of law—taking into account all interests, it goes without saying. However, an enormous amount of work lies ahead, whichever of the important questions is considered. I think that this also is directly related to the Paris conference on chemical weapons that finished recently. [Vedenyapin] You are quite right. By the way, I would just like to mention the following aspect. The fact is that when we were just speaking of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly in New York, we were naturally speaking of it in the context of his statement of 15 January 1986 concerning a nuclear-free world. In this respect, the following question automatically arises: What relationship does our very topical unilateral step in the sphere of conventional arms that was announced at the General Assembly session have to the joint road to a nuclear-free future? I think it is most directly related. Nuclear disarmament is not possible without conventional disarmament, because nuclear weapons are regarded as an insurance against conventional weapons being used as long as the concentration of forces on one side seems threatening or dangerous to the other side. A nuclear-free world in such conditions is really the purest utopia.

It is in this context that one should appraise the results of the international chemical weapons conference which you have just mentioned. It finished last Wednesday in Paris and was most representative. The envoys of 146 states took part. It discussed ways of freeing mankind from the threat of chemical warfare. At the end a final declaration was adopted, which has been published. Briefly the main sense of it is as follows: The participating states confirmed their determination not to employ chemical weapons. They acknowledged the continuing effectiveness of the 1925 Geneva Protocol banning the use in war of asphyxiating, toxic, or other similar gases and of bacteriological weapons, and—what is perhaps the most important thing—the declaration stressed the need to conclude a convention in the near future on banning the development, production, stockpiling, and use of all types of chemical weapons and on their destruction. It was agreed that such a convention should be comprehensive, effectively verifiable, and not for just a limited period of time.

[Volskiy] Well, I think it is now a matter of further joint efforts by all the sides concerned. It should be recalled that the halting of chemical weapons production by the Soviet Union, the displaying of our chemical warfare arsenal at Shikhany, and finally the publication of the quantity of stockpiled toxic agents and the demonstration of ways of destroying them—and incidentally the installation where they will be destroyed will shortly be built in our country—all this, and let us also recall the call for the legal enshrinement of the principle of inspections of bases without the right of refusal—all this made it possible last year and even the year before to radically change the course of the talks in Geneva within the framework of the disarmament conference.

Now our new initiative has been announced in Paris. Without waiting for a convention to be signed, the USSR will begin unilateral chemical disarmament. I think that this initiative will not only powerfully accelerate the Geneva talks on the way to their finale, but will also in general, so to speak, set a kind of example for all the other countries. Just like our unilateral initiatives in reducing armaments and armed forces and steps towards settling regional conflicts, all this serves, in addition to everything else, as an example for the rest of the world, to which it is difficult not to respond.

[Kolchanov] The world public has reacted very well both to the results of the conference and to the speech by Comrade Shevardnadze at the conference. At the same time, in the U.S. mass news media one has been hearing the following thesis being expressed—not even a thesis but rather a judgment—claiming that the Russians will be destroying only obsolete types of chemical munitions and saying that this has already been under way for a long time in the United States. How would you comment on this kind of judgment, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich?

[Vedenyapin] This kind of statement is somewhat incomprehensible because it is a matter, as far as I know, of completely unilateral chemical disarmament. Perhaps we are somewhat late—and incidentally this was admitted by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze—somewhat late in halting chemical weapons production. Nevertheless, it has now been halted and now, without waiting for the conclusion of a convention, we have announced unilateral chemical disarmament. And you know, as far as the United States is concerned, on the whole one draws hope from the fact that it immediately issued a statement welcoming our position. But then, specific steps on Washington's part would probably be more convincing. For this reason, we are waiting.

As yet the new White House administration is keeping silent over whether the production of binary charges will be halted, as is expected, in the near future. As yet it is silent on NATO eliminating its stockpiles of forward-based chemical weapons in Western Europe. The Warsaw Treaty Organization has no such stockpiles. Again we are depending on the fact that only all-round and joint efforts may produce some kind of tangible result and bring us success.

[Kolchanov] Well, concerning chemical weapons that are, so to speak, unnecessary and that have gone out of use, our country does have certain installations for the destruction of unnecessary chemical weapons which make it possible to get rid of these old weapons. Such indeed exist. But, if we are speaking of the permanent installation that is being built in Chapayevsk—which will be our largest installation—it has been created precisely for the full-scale destruction of chemical weapons. Therefore, these conjectures by some sources in the U.S. press are, in my view, altogether invalid.

[Volskiy] To round off our program, I think we need to mention a further happening in international life which took place this week. Ronald Reagan on national television delivered his farewell message to his country. As you know, on 20 January the head of the administration will hand over his powers to George Bush, the 41st U.S. president. I think that before we ourselves assess this event, we should give the floor to Ronald Reagan himself, to see what he said.

[Kolchanov] Yes, I too am in favour of first listening to the voice from across the ocean, and this is how Reagan assessed Soviet-U.S. relations and their condition at the present time: The great powers have actually begun to reduce their nuclear weapons, and the hopes for further progress are quite capable of being realized. Over the last few years, Reagan went on to say, we have established a new closeness with the Soviet Union which gives rise to a sense of satisfaction. I want the new close relations with the Soviet Union to continue, the President said.

I can also cite Fitzwater, the President's press secretary, who will in all probability remain under the new president too. Speaking of Soviet-U.S. relations he noted: The changes lie in the fact that, although we continue to remain skeptical due to the differences in our societies and world outlooks, we have realized that it is possible to conduct a constructive dialogue based on realism.

You know, I would agree with both these views. We must not become euphoric over the changes that have become discernible in Soviet-U.S. relations. We must conduct a serious, concrete, and businesslike dialogue on all key problems. The basis for this is also clear, inasmuch as further world progress is possible only through a search for a common human consensus on movement towards a new world order, joint creativity instead of self-destruction, joint development instead of suicide, the finding of a balance of interests within an international framework, and the solution of political issues by political means and of common human problems in a human way.

[Vedenyapin] Well, the time for our program is now at an end. Thank you, comrade listeners, for your attention. Goodbye until we meet again on the air.

Petrovskiy, Shabanov, Sokolov News Conference

PM1401182589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Into the 21st Century Under the Sign of Peace"]

[Text] It is 3 years since the publication of M.S. Gorbachev's statement putting forward a program for ridding the world of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000. The steps taken by the Soviet leadership in that historically brief period of time are a convincing demonstration of the USSR's resolve to put the program into practice. This is the opinion of the participants in a 13 January press conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center.

USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy noted that the start of real disarmament in the nuclear sphere; the Soviet Union's new initiatives on the unilateral reduction of armed forces and armaments and on beginning the destruction of chemical weapons in the near future, before the conclusion of a convention banning them; the significant advances in the settlement of the Afghan situation and the conflicts between Iran and Iraq, in southwestern Africa, in Southeast Asia, and other regions, contribute to confident progress toward a safe and just world. Its silhouette is becoming more and more clearly defined on the political horizon.

The building of a world free from nuclear weapons and violence, the speaker stressed, means not merely the elimination of means of mass annihilation, but a switch to a qualitatively different state of international relations. The logic of the ongoing development of civilization rules out a return at the end of the 20th century to the prenuclear era. It is not a matter of replacing one form of power politics with another. The nuclear-free world, as we see it, is a fundamentally new, humane, and democratic type of world in which security is ensured not by military-technical, but by political means; not by the law of force, but by the force of law.

The first steps on the path of disarmament have already shown that it offers real opportunities for releasing material and intellectual resources, which can then be used for creative purposes. The reorientation of production in the USSR from missiles and launchers to national economic ends alone will save more than R300 million. And as a result of the implementation of the unilateral Soviet measures on the reduction of conventional armaments and forces substantial resources associated with the upkeep and servicing of personnel and equipment will become available.

Of course, V.F. Petrovskiy stressed, the bulk of the resources obtained in that way will go primarily to the needs of the countries where the disarmament measures are being implemented. But, at the same time, the resources that have been saved will create conditions for more effective international cooperation. Through disarmament it would be possible to mobilize resources to ensure the stable development, preservation, and improvement of the quality of the environment, eliminate debts, and strengthen the peacekeeping potential of the United Nations.

We also see the reorientation of military production to civilian needs and the conversion of the economy as material guarantees of a safer, more stable world. The Soviet Union is implementing specific measures in that area. We think it is time all states switched to national, planned conversion.

Ridding mankind of the excessively heavy burden of lethal weapons is no easy task. One cannot help noticing that the first steps in that direction have met with distrust and have encountered resistance from influential circles who continue to think in militarist terms. What typifies the situation, however, is the fact that the world community links the approaching 21st century to our civilization's entry into a new, peaceful period, to development and the establishment of general human interests as the priority.

The United Nations rightly has a decisive part to play in consolidating this dominant trend. Its new role in an interrelated world is to be an effective means of seeking a general human consensus, a conscious regulator of integration processes, and the driving force behind the formation of a stable world order. But the United Nations cannot be effective unless it receives from states the oxygen of support in its initiatives and actions. The Soviet Union is with the United Nations in word and in deed. Strict discharge of all obligations to international organizations is the hallmark of our policy of new thinking.

We deeply believe, V.F. Petrovskiy said, in the potential of joint efforts by all members of the world community and in their ability to enter the 21st century under the sign of peace, cocreation [sotvorchestvo], and codevelopment, and establish on an all-embracing basis equal security for all.

USSR Deputy Defense Minister Army General V.M. Shabanov was next to speak. He told journalists that in accordance with the treaty between the USSR and the United States on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, 222 of the 889 intermediate-range missiles due for elimination have been eliminated so far, or nearly 25 percent. Of the 587 launchers for them 118 have been eliminated. Of the 957 shorter-range missiles 312 have been eliminated and of the 238 launchers for them 94 have been eliminated.

The U.S. side is also fulfilling its obligations, having eliminated so far around 25 percent of its missiles in these classes, the deputy minister said. By and large, he noted, the treaty is being implemented as planned, in an atmosphere of trust and efficiency. We hope that the deadline for the elimination of the intermediate-range missiles, July 1991, and for the elimination of the shorter-range missiles, January 1990, will be met.

Answering a question from a correspondent for the newspaper ASAHI on the possibility of the signing of a treaty on strategic offensive armaments this year, V.F. Petrovskiy stressed that a 50-percent reduction of the two countries' strategic potentials is a priority area of our foreign policy efforts. In his opinion, the elaboration of a treaty has been impeded by a discrepancy between the positions of the USSR and the United States on the question of the ABM Treaty. We are categorically opposed to the placing of weapons in outer space, the deputy minister said. He voiced the hope that the new U.S. Administration will adjust its position and that the possibility will arise of the speediest completion of work on a treaty on strategic offensive armaments.

Many Western correspondents inquired about the timeframe of the second stage of the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. V.M. Shabanov said: We intend to firmly observe the Geneva agreements. It is our duty and the firm opinion of our government. The Soviet military commander stressed that the question of observance of the balance between the sides' commitments is a particularly acute one at the moment. We expect the United States to play its part as a guarantor of the Geneva agreements, he said.

A correspondent from the paper RIZOSPASTIS (Greece): In light of the recent incident involving Libyan aircraft, how do you view the situation in the Mediterranean and what are the prospects of a solution of the problems there?

V.F. Petrovskiy: Indeed, what happened to the Libyan aircraft is evidence of a rather tense situation in the region which necessitates the adoption of specific measures to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation. I believe that interested countries must sit down at the negotiating table immediately.

Answering a question about the progress being made at the Security Council in agreeing on a UN plan on Namibia, he said that there have been certain changes since Resolution 435 was adopted, in particular, in assessing expenditure associated with the implementation of the plan. According to UN estimates made in 1979, expenditure was put at $350 million. Now, according to the preliminary calculations of the UN Secretariat, the total sum will be $800 million. So the question of reasonable economies has cropped up alongside the implementation of the UN plan.

The Soviet Union appreciates the problem. But the measures to save money must not affect the substance of the UN plan on Namibia and prejudice its political goals, V.F. Petrovskiy stressed.

How does the USSR view the danger of the appearance of Israeli nuclear weapons? The USSR deputy foreign minister stressed that there can only be one solution—the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Near East. We observe, he said, that the Israeli leadership is also talking about the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the region, and it would be very significant if it were to reinforce its words with specific action.

It was noted at the press conference that the elaboration of the mandate of the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe could be completed "at any moment, in the next few hours even." The only matter that remains unresolved at the moment is that of including the Mediterranean seaboard of the Asian part of Turkey in the reduction zone.

Academician R.Z. Sagdeyev, chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat, stressed that it is now necessary to think about what disarmament tasks will have to be tackled after the conclusion of the treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive armaments. The discussion of a "scenario" for the achievement of a minimum level for the sides' nuclear potentials would be a convenient springboard enabling us to leap toward a nuclear-free world, he said. The scientist also expressed the view that more money should be put into the peaceful exploration of space.

Another press conference participant, V.Ye. Sokolov, academic secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences General Biology Department, pointed out the urgent need to tackle ecological problems. He stressed that the ecological space monitoring program currently under discussion offers very wide opportunities for tracking changes in the world environment.

Trilateral Commission Delegation Arrives in Moscow

PM1701112489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Understanding Restructuring in Greater Depth"]

[Text] Interest in new prospects in East-West relations has brought a delegation from the Trilateral Commission to the Soviet Union. It has arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

This international nongovernmental organization has the aim of developing coordinated approaches to the foreign, economic, and social policy of developed capitalist countries in three regions—Western Europe, North America, and Japan. Politicians, businessmen, heads of professional associations, scientists, and journalists take part in the commission's work. The list of members of the delegation that has arrived is headed by the names of former French President V. Giscard d'Estaing, former Japanese Prime Minister Y. Nakasone, and former U.S. Secretary of State H. Kissinger.

The delegation's program of work began on the morning of 16 January with a visit to the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations. Its director, Academician Ye.M. Primakov, spoke about the institute's activity and the tasks it is tackling. It was stressed that in the conditions of the renewal processes taking place in the USSR, the role of science has increased considerably.

V. Giscard d'Estaing stressed that people in Europe are watching the restructuring in the Soviet Union with great interest and support it. We want to understand it in greater depth and form an opinion on what opportunities it offers for changes in East-West relations, he said.

D. Rockefeller, chairman of the North American group on the Trilateral Commission, noted that the meetings in Moscow will be used to clarify the Soviet side's view on the prospects for such changes.

In the course of the talk, in which leading specialists from the institute took part, the guests inquired about a number of concrete aspects of restructuring. They in turn answered questions put to them.

The business meetings continued with a visit to the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the United States of America and Canada on the same day. The delegation members and Academician G.A. Arbatov, director of the institute, and his colleagues exchanged opinions on a wide range of questions. They discussed prospects for development of the political situation in Europe under conditions of a radical reduction of arms and armed forces, and touched on questions of Soviet-American relations, economic reform in the USSR, means of cooperation, and the development of trading links.

Meets With Military Officials

LD1701152289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1358 GMT 17 Jan 89

["Delegation of the Trilateral Commission Meets Soviet Military Commanders"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow 17 Jan (TASS)—The implementation of measures on the unilateral reduction of Soviet armed forces by 500,000 men, including the withdrawal of six tank divisions and other units from countries of Eastern Europe will start in the first half of this year, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, first deputy minister of defense of the USSR, commander in chief of the joint armed forces of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, announced today. Along with other Soviet military commanders he received a delegation of the Trilateral Commission (this international nongovernmental organization has as its goal to work out coordinated approaches to the foreign, economic, and social policy of the developed capitalist countries of three regions—Western Europe, North America, and Japan.)

During the conversation, which lasted over 1 and ½ hours, Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the former president of France; Henry Kissinger, former secretary of state of the United States; and other members of the delegation enquired about the concrete aspects of the Soviet peace initiative announced in December last year by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations. Marshal Kulikov noted that of the six tank divisions to be withdrawn from three of the countries allied to the USSR in the Warsaw Pact, four would be withdrawn from the GDR, one from the CSSR, and one from Hungary.

In withdrawing six tank divisions, as well as landing and assault [desantno-shturmovoy] and other units from the countries of Eastern Europe, the Soviet military commander stressed we are honestly fulfilling obligations arising from the defensive military doctrine we have adopted. The Soviet leadership has made a bold and unusual decision. We military men consider this to be an example of goodwill and calculate that the West will respond with a similar step.

Viktor Kulikov expressed agreement with Valery Giscard d'Estaing that an exchange of opinions is essential between representatives of the armed forces of the USSR and United States on different aspects of military doctrines and questions of military construction. He added that other members of the Warsaw Pact and NATO should also take part in such an exchange of opinions.

Today's meeting is of an unusual nature, David Rockefeller, secretary of the Trilateral Commission said in conclusion. For the first time members of the commission have been able to meet Soviet military men and discuss important problems with them. I think that this discussion has greatly contributed to mutual understanding.

Received by Gorbachev

LD1801082989 Moscow TASS in English 0824 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, January 18 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev received a delegation of the Trilateral Commission today.

The delegation has been in the Soviet capital since Sunday. [15 January] The aim of its visit is to study new prospects for East-West relations.

Among the delegation members are Valery Giscard d'Estaing, former president of France, Yasuhiro Nakasone, former prime minister of Japan, and Henry Kissinger, former U.S. secretary of state.

CSCE Final Document Adopted in Vienna 15 Jan

Envoy Kashlev Comments

LD1501225189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2043 GMT 15 Jan 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The final document was adopted today at the Vienna meeting by consensus of representatives from all 33 European states and the United States and Canada, participants in the Helsinki process.

[V. Mikhayev; identified by caption] Foreign ministers of the 35 states will arrive in Vienna on 17 to 19 January to conclude the Vienna meeting. We are talking to the head of the Soviet delegation, envoy Yuriy Borisevich Kashlev:

[Kashlev] Yes, representatives of 33 European states and the United States and Canada, participants in the all-European process, adopted here today the final document of the Vienna CSCE meeting. This is more than 100 pages of—rich in content, drafted with great effort—text; I can show you the document [video close-up of the document], in which each line fixes a high standard of obligations and accords in the development of cooperation in the military-political, trade-economic, ecological, and humanitarian spheres. It can be said without exaggeration that all that was agreed on 15 years ago in Helsinki and then further developed at follow-up all-European meetings has been raised to a new level. An extensive program of all-European cooperation for the next 3 years has been approved; more than 10 major talks, forums, and conferences in all spheres. For the first time in the framework of the CSCE process, two sets of military talks will begin; they will start right here in Vienna on 6 March. These are talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons and talks on the confidence-building measures in the military sphere. The address by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the United Nations Organization has contributed very much—contributed exceptionally—to the successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting. The concept of the common European home is assuming a real form and is helping, regarding the foundation of the new strengthening of security, construct all the walls of this home: political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian. And in this is the main meaning of today's event [video shows clips from the meeting; Kashlev interview, showing the document with close-up of the front page]

'Exceptionally Important Step'

PM1601150189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent I. Melnikov report: "Final Document Adopted"]

[Text] Vienna, 15 Jan—Despite the calendar it was a sunny, March-like day in Vienna. The weather seemed to have decided to thank the participants in the more than

2-year all-European meeting for the sometimes seemingly endless discussions and the determined searches for compromise. The drama reached its climax at the end of last week. In consultations on the elaboration of the mandate of the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe the diplomats were even forced to "stop the clock." This important document, as earlier agreed, is dated 10 January even though the final objections (centering on a dispute between two NATO states, Greece and Turkey) were removed only yesterday evening.

This is all in the past now. At midday today in the "Austria Center" Building the representatives of 33 European states, the United States, and Canada—the participants in the Helsinki process—adopted the final document containing accords on the continuation and development of cooperation in all areas outlined in the Helsinki final act.

The Vienna accords are an exceptionally important step in the development of the all-European process and the Vienna meeting itself is surely the most significant event since Helsinki. What grounds are there for saying that?

The forum brings the unprecedented talks on conventional armed forces in Europe into the orbit of macro politics. The mandate of those talks, which is a supplement to the final document, attests that the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO states have demonstrated the political will and desire to begin talks. Their aim will be to establish stability and security in Europe at lower levels of armed forces and conventional arms by eliminating the existing asymmetries and removing the potential for surprise attack and the beginning of large-scale offensive actions. The talks will cover all types of armed forces and conventional arms of the member states without exception including such offensive systems as tactical strike aviation, tanks, and artillery. This is the first time that talks will embrace such a broad geographical zone—all Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, the bulk of Turkey in Asia, and the Soviet Transcaucasus. All the European islands of the member countries will be included in the zone.

Observers are noting that the successful elaboration of the talks' mandate was facilitated by our country's new approach to security problems, as set out by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the United Nations, and the unilateral steps of the USSR and the allied socialist states in reducing their armed forces and armaments.

The final document also envisages parallel talks on the development of confidence-building measures in the military sphere. In fact they are a continuation of the Stockholm conference and will bring together all 35 CSCE participant states cooperating in the framework of the all-European process.

"The significance of the Vienna meeting is that it gives an impetus to the development of the human dimension of the Helsinki process. Henceforth, the human factor is firmly established in it. The documents adopted in Vienna recognize the right of citizens individually or jointly to make their active contribution to the struggle for human rights. This is a conceptually new element. Another essentially new element is the accord on 'confidence-building measures' in the humanitarian sphere—on the creation of a control mechanism by means of which the member states will be able to exchange information, opinions, and even possible claims against one another in connection with the practical implementation of commitments adopted by them."

Also envisaged are the expansion of contacts among citizens of the participant countries, the simplification of the procedure for leaving a country, the further consolidation of glasnost in the member states and extensive opportunities for the dissemination of information between them, including radio information. All these accords will be implemented, of course, within the framework of the internal law of the participant states and where necessary will be brought into line with their international legal and political commitments.

As a whole, the final document gives a balanced reflection of the participants' interests in the sphere of economic, scientific-technical, and environmental cooperation and directs states toward the solution of concrete tasks. The further reduction or gradual elimination of obstacles to the development of trade are envisaged and there is mention of the prospects for the creation of joint enterprises and the expansion of scientific and technical cooperation. An important place is occupied by accords on environmental protection and on collaboration in the development of nature conservancy technologies.

The participants in the all-European meeting approved an extensive program for their further activity. The next meeting of the Vienna type will open in Helsinki in March 1992. In the intervening period of just over 2 years there will be 11 major conferences and meetings.

The pace of cooperation on our continent, as we can see, is growing appreciably. Its scale is also broad. It takes in the military-political, international legal, economic, environmental, and humanitarian spheres. The program of cooperation and joint creation in eliminating the military-political and economic division of the continent is a busy one.

In a few days the participants in the Vienna meeting will be leaving Austria's hospitable capital. On 17-19 January it will end at the foreign minister level. But even now it may be said without doubt that the meeting has made a substantial contribution to building the "all-European home" and has given it a firm foundation. I believe that the building of its superstructure will not take long if the peoples tackle this work together.

CSCE Foreign Ministers Meet in Vienna 17-19 Jan

Secretary Shultz Comments

PM1801103789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent I. Melnikov dispatch under the "Abroad" rubric: "Crucial Progress"]

[Text] Vienna, 17 Jan—Vienna rightfully feels like a diplomatic capital now. The "Austria Center" that sprang up recently on the left bank of the Danube next to the UN complex received the CSCE states' foreign ministers today. The final sessions of the forum will last 3 days here. Each of the representatives of the 35 countries will have the right to speak.

The news of M.S. Gorbachev's answers to the PRAVDA editorial office's questions devoted to the significance of the Vienna meeting flew rapidly round the Austrian capital. These answers are the center of attention for the guests here and the public. Your correspondent asked U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz two questions on his arrival here:

"Mr Secretary of State, what is your opinion of the results of the Vienna forum?"

[Shultz] "This meeting was a great and extremely positive step, whose significance extends not only to the present but also to the future."

[Correspondent] "M.S. Gorbachev pointed out that the meeting's final document, together with the mandate for the talks on conventional weapons and armed forces, is an unprecedented event not only for Europe but for the entire world. Do you share this opinion?"

[Shultz] "I want to say that I agree with this opinion in principle. I also believe that the Vienna meeting will give a positive boost to international relations as a whole."

Austrian Foreign Minister A. Mock took the floor first at the morning session. The fact that it proved possible at the Vienna meeting, he said, to adopt a substantive and balanced final document is to the credit of all the participants in the talks.

The minister pointed out that great and crucial progress was achieved as a result of the conclusion of the USSR-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. A. Mock welcomed the USSR's decision to unilaterally reduce its armed forces and conventional arms and embark on the elimination of chemical weapons.

The Turkish, Norwegian, Cypriot, Bulgarian, and U.S. foreign ministers spoke next.

Shevardnadze Departs for Vienna

LD1801082289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0800 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, left Moscow for Vienna today to participate in the concluding sessions of the Vienna meeting of representatives of participant states in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

He was seen off at the airport by Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs; and other officials.

Among those who saw him off was Herbert Grubmayr, the Austrian ambassador to the USSR.

Shevardnadze Arrives in Vienna

LD1801104689 Moscow TASS in English 1032 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna January 18 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze arrived here today to attend the concluding sittings of the third meeting on security and cooperation in Europe, currrently under way in the Austrian capital.

United States & Canada

Gorbachev Receives Kissinger, Discusses Relations

LD1701162989 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev on Tuesday [17 January] received prominent American politician Henry Kissinger, formerly a U.S. secretary of state.

They held a substantive exchange of opinions, which dealt with the present-day situation in the world, progress and problems in international and bilateral relations, and some considerations on the development of Soviet-American relations, which were set forth by Kissinger on behalf of U.S. President-elect George Bush.

Anatoliy Dobrynin, an advisor to the president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, took part in the meeting.

Yakovlev Meets Kissinger, Editor William Hyland

LD1601171789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1650 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan (TASS)—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today received prominent U.S. statesman Henry Kissinger and William Hyland, chief editor of the U.S. FOREIGN AFFAIRS magazine, at their request. Topical questions and prospects of Soviet-U.S. relations and international issues were discussed.

Bush Appointees to Senior Posts Characterized

LD1301192189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Talk by commentator Igor Charikov]

[Text] Exactly 1 week remains before the 41st U.S. President, George Bush, is formally sworn in before the U.S. Captitol building. In line with tradition he has already presented the composition of his future government or administration. All the members of the cabinet will appear next week before Congress to be confirmed in office.

Our commentator, Igor Charikov, here voices some considerations with respect to the candidates for the key posts in the future U.S. Administration.

[Charikov] What then are the key posts and why at the present time is particular attention drawn to them? This concerns primarily those people who have been chosen by President Bush as the future secretary of state, defense secretary, and national security adviser. After all, it is these people who are in the main to conduct the country's foreign policy and make its military strength commensurate with the sensible need and logic of the present day.

One is immediately struck by the fact that George Bush has decided to rely on very experienced politicians who are close to each other in their views. They are representatives of the older generation and come from the State of Texas, that is, James Baker, the future head of the foreign policy department; John Tower, secretary of defense; and retired General Brent Scowcroft, who will occupy the post of national security adviser, an influential post within the administration. While the political face of James Baker is well known only for the internal party struggle and, to put it mildly, his experience as a diplomat is very modest, the other two, each in his sphere, can be proud of a rich service record.

Gen Brent Scowcroft is in the full sense a veteran of arms control affairs. He has already occupied the post of national security adviser under President Ford and has published theoretical works that expound his views on the problems of ensuring security. At one time—and I repeat, at one time—Scowcroft advocated the original interpretation of the ABM Treaty and opposed the extensive U.S. deployment of sea-based cruise missiles. As is well known, precisely these two items serve as a substantial obstacle to achieving an accord for a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments. At the same time he adheres to the theory of a strong United States which we understand as securing military superiority.

John Tower, the future Pentagon chief, also has much experience in matters connected with arms control. He is well remembered for his involvement in the Geneva talks between the Soviet Union and the United States. The views of people may change with the passage of time, and in order to judge John Tower's present credo I should like to refer to the article which he sent to PRAVDA, and which was published in that newspaper in October 1987. Both our countries, John Tower wrote, agree that the level of nuclear armament is too high. We have attained some progress in tackling the problem of reducing nuclear armaments, but we have still not achieved comparable progress in the sphere of reducing strategic nuclear arms and with regard to a reduction of conventional arms. One cannot fail to welcome such pronouncements, and one should like also to hope that Bush's new team will use its positive experience, and also the momentum of the discernible progress, for further advancement toward a secure world.

Gerasimov Comments on Changeover at White House

PM1701141589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 17 Jan 89 p 7

[Article by observer Gennadiy Gerasimov under the rubric "World on Tuesday": "Understudy Goes Into Orbit"]

[Text] In the U.S. political system the Vice President is like an understudy in the system of space research. He is on call but in the shadows. The lead is in the limelight.

George Bush has been Vice President 8 years. Just over 8 years ago he was already aspiring to become the leading character—in 1980 he ran as a presidential candidate in the primaries.

This fact says something about the way he combines purposefulness with patience. On 20 January he will indeed move into the apartment that comes with the job in the White House and into its Oval Office.

Politicians, too, have human qualities. They are not abstract figures "reflecting the interests of their class" or, as Americans will correct me, the interests of their voters. They do reflect interests, but not without personal interpretation. And this, incidentally, introduces elements of a psychological drama into foreign policy, into the drama of the clash of state interests.

Because of this feature of the U.S. political scene which I have noted, our reader does not yet know as much about Bush as he wanted to learn following his victory in the presidential election. And the translation of Bush's book "Looking to the Future" with a foreword by myself, which is published by the "Progress" Publishing House, will serve as a useful introduction to that inevitable new branch of political science—"Bushology."

The book belongs to the genre of election literature. Similar books have been produced by Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan (the latter not in his own name [ne ot svoyego litsa], incidentally), and others. Of course, the laws of the genre dictate that you tell the voter only what will convince him of your excellence. Nevertheless, for an attentive reader such a primary source is in no way less adequate than compositions by a detached observer, since it reveals little traits of the author's character.

Here is an example. In American folklore there is the story of a father telling his son: "Go west, my son!" At the time the parable appeared, the west meant an opportunity to begin life oneself and to build it oneself. And in the book there is an episode relating how the Bush couple "went west," in their case to Beijing. Bush was offered the choice of the post of ambassador in two leading West European countries or the post of representative at the U.S. mission in Beijing. He chose Beijing. Because it was a "journey into the unknown" and a challenge of something new and difficult—U.S. - Chinese relations were only starting to be restored. This awakened in him the "instinct of rivalry."

Bush's career shows that he has coped with the "challenges" and accumulated diverse experience. He has been a pilot, a businessman, a party figure, director of the CIA, and a diplomat, and in recent years he has been right next to the President, as though completing his training. It was also important to the U.S. voter that in the war his aircraft was downed and he landed in the ocean, he lost a child, and is a model head of a large family.

Bush now has no shortage of advice on where to begin. And many people advise him to begin with Soviet-U.S. relations. For example, Stephen Cohen of Princeton University, who is well known to us now, writes that the new President will be faced with a historic opportunity and, at the same time, an obligation to end the "cold war." Everyone senses the crucial nature of the present moment: Bush himself says that the postwar era has ended. The Soviet-U.S. political dialogue is developing, and M.S. Gorbachev's New York meeting with R. Reagan and G. Bush 7 December last year emphasized continuity: The dialogue will still continue when the interlocutor on the U.S. side changes.

But we will probably have to wait. Bush replied to a question about the U.S. reaction to our decision on a unilateral reduction of armed forces and arms: "I need time to assess the new proposals and put forward my own.... It is absolutely impossible to draw up a detailed point-by-point program for talks on arms control by 15 or 16 February. We will not have one." Bush added by way of a comment on his position: "I have always been inclined to display a certain caution, but nevertheless I do not want the impression to be created that I take a negative stance."

The changes in Washington, particularly at the State and Defense Departments, are resulting in an explicable pause in diplomatic activity—the new characters need time to get into their roles, and some, perhaps, need time to learn these roles. It is only to be hoped that the pause will not grow into an interval and a loss of time.

Paper Cites Reagan's Farewell Address to Nation

PM1301141089 Moscow TRUD in Russian
13 Jan 89 p 3

[TASS report: "R. Reagan's Farewell Address"]

[Text] Washington, 12 Jan—Ronald Reagan, whose term as U.S. President is drawing to a close, delivered a farewell message to the country on national television on Wednesday. On 20 January the head of the administration hands over power to the 41st President of the United States, George Bush.

Assessing the events that have marked his 8-year term in the White House, R. Reagan devoted particular attention to the significant improvement in American-Soviet relations. The great powers, he said, "have actually begun to reduce their nuclear weapons, and hope for even more progress is bright." Reagan also noted that regional conflicts are gradually ceasing.

Despite differences of social systems and approaches to such concepts as "freedom" and "human rights," the President stressed, "we have, in the past few years, forged a satisfying new closeness with the Soviet Union." America, R. Reagan continued, "must keep up its guard, but we must also continue to work together to lessen and eliminate tension and mistrust." Assessing positively the processes of restructuring and democratization taking place in the USSR, Reagan expressed a wish for these transformations to succeed. I want the new close relations with the Soviet Union to continue, the President went on to say.

Describing the situation in the modern world, the President expressed the view that Americans have entered 1989 in conditions of "new peacefulness around the globe."

At the same time the President admitted that he is leaving the White House with regret that he has not been able to resolve the problem of the federal budget. He had to mention this subject, if only in passing, because, as is well known, the pledge to put an end to the chronic federal budget deficit was one of Reagan's election promises. The President mentioned in his address that in recent years he has been described as a "master of communication." And that was manifested particularly clearly in this speech, which amounted to a eulogy of the Reagan administration's successes and America's role in the world. Not one of the acute social, economic, and ecological problems faced by the United States was touched on.

The President, bidding farewell to the Americans, said that he is leaving the White House glad to be going home to California but sorry to part with those whom he has known in Washington. Unlike Reagan's previous addresses, the greater part of this one was, according to White House spokesmen, written by the U.S. President himself.

U.S. Groups Criticize Reagan on Human Rights

LD1701235889 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] The United States and other Western nations have used the meeting of 35 foreign ministers at the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to attack the East European countries' record on human rights. Nikolay Gorshkov has been watching the reports from Vienna:

[Gorshkov] The American Secretary of State George Shultz, in his final public speech, set the tone for the West by attacking several socialist countries, namely, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, and Romania. Meanwhile, a report issued in New York says President Reagan's Administration rarely protests against human rights violations in countries viewed as friendly to United States' interests. Such criticism of the Administration is detailed in the report by the two American public organisations: the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights and the Human Rights Watch.

The Reagan Administration, the report says, provides enormous amounts of military and financial assistance to military groups with appalling human rights records, including the Contra rebels in Nicaragua, the UNITA insurgents in Angola, and the National Armies of El Salvador, Guatemala and the Sudan. American assistance to such groups was provided, according to the report, despite prohibition in United States law against such aid to gross violators of human rights. In certain cases, such as El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, the Administration minimized abuses or denied that they were taking place. The Administration is also attacked in the report for refraining from criticizing human rights violations by Israel against the Palestinians and by Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Jordan, and Kenya.

Behind this selective human rights policy, the report says, was the Administration's preoccupation with geopolitical concerns. For example, the Reagan Administration exaggerated human rights concerns in Nicaragua, portraying it as a totalitarian dungeon, in order to win support for its war aimed at overthrowing the Sandinista government. Washington armed, trained, financed, directed and supported an insurgent force that systematically attacked civilian targets. The Human Rights Watch and the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights say in conclusion that the Bush administration should not let other factors stand in the way of accurate reporting on human rights abuses.

Carlucci Opposes Defense Cuts Despite Progress

PM1701115189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interview with Defense Secretary"]

[Text] Outgoing U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci stated on Sunday that in recent years the United States has formed "new relations with the Soviet Union."

"We have made progress at the strategic offensive arms reduction talks," he said on ABC TV. "And if you look at the whole world...you will see that substantial changes have taken place."

However, the secretary asserted: "These new relations with the Soviet Union have been established thanks to the fact that we conducted talks from a position of strength."

Although Carlucci stressed that the United States "welcomes" the Soviet Union's decision to unilaterally reduce its armed forces and conventional armaments, according to him this "in no way brings us closer to parity."

Furthermore, the defense secretary again tried to justify the planned growth of U.S. military spending. "Reductions (in the military budget) could damage our strategy," he remarked.

Soviet Poll Reflects Popular Attitude to U.S.

LD1701151189 Moscow TASS in English 1443 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Most Soviet people polled by the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociological Studies last November hoped that new U.S. President George Bush would pursue a peaceful policy and develop economic, scientific and cultural ties with the Soviet Union. Many respondents wished him good health and success in resolving internal problems.

The survey was conducted in the form of private conversations in 50 population localities in the Russian Federation, including Moscow and Leningrad. The opinion poll covered 800 people representing all categories of the Soviet adult population.

Eighty-five per cent of respondents believed that Soviet-American relations play an important role in lowering world tensions. Characterising these relations, 15 percent of the respondents described them as good, 72 per cent said they were satisfactory and three per cent characterised them as bad. Nine per cent found it difficult to give any definite answer, one per cent gave no answer at all and sixty four per cent believe relations will improve under President Bush.

Every third respondent believes that the new U.S. president will continue President Reagan's policy towards the Soviet Union. Eighteen per cent think Bush's policy towards the USSR will be more favourable, while five percent say his policy will be worse. About 40 per cent did not give any definite answer.

Soviet people believe that Soviet-American summits are useful. A staggering 93 per cent of respondents said they should be held regularly.

Only 40 per cent of the respondents answered definitely to the question whether they thought President Bush would be ready to sign an agreement on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons with the Soviet Union. Seventy five percent of them responded positively.

The poll showed that the Soviet people have friendly feelings towards Americans. Seven per cent expressed deep affection, 64 per cent—friendliness, six per cent were indifferent, 12 per cent said their attitude was cautious and only 0.2 per cent were openly hostile. Ten per cent did not give a definite answer.

Economic Conference With U.S. Opens at UN

LD1701230189 Moscow TASS in English 2247 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] New York January 18 TASS—An economic conference opened at the United Nations headquarters Tuesday.

The conference is attended by prominent Soviet and U.S. economists, senior executives of firms and enterprises interested in broadening commercial and economic relations between the two countries, and American politicians.

The two-day conference will discuss the economic reform in the Soviet Union and its prospects, the broadening of legal rights of Soviet enterprises in the field of foreign economic relations in conditions of perestroyka, monetary-financial and organisational aspects of economic cooperation.

Soviet and U.S. partners will speak about their experience in the establishment of joint ventures.

U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar said at the opening ceremony that the conference can in practice make a contribution to the establishment of constructive cooperation, in place of confrontation, in the world.

He expressed the hope that the conference will identify obstacles to the establishment of closer economic East-West relations and find realistic ways to overcome them.

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Vernon Walters greeted the participants in the conference and said that brisk economic relations are very important for both countries.

Soviet Ambassador to the U.N. Aleksander Belonogov said the fact that the conference is being held at the U.N. headquarters points to the recognition of the importance of the two nations' cooperation for the whole world.

Theory on Missile Flight Recorder Theft Rejected

LD1701232989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2005 GMT 17 Jan 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Text] Good evening. Approximately 18 months ago, or to be more precise in July 1987, a test launching of a Minuteman intercontinental strategic missile was carried out from an U.S. air base in California. The search for the fallen missile normally takes a few hours in such cases, but this time things were delayed a bit, and it was first raised from the depths of the sea the next morning. The missile, packed in a crate, was than sent away for inspection, and when the crate was opened a month and a half later, it turned out that the flight recorder which registers the flight path was missing. As they are saying, the specialists could either have dropped this recorder in the ocean during the search operation, they could have lost it, or they could have left it somewhere through the negligence of the numerous military officials.

But all these versions faded into the background in the face of something much more sensational. On one of the beaches of the Kwajalein atoll—exactly in the missile's target area—a Soviet sailor's cap was washed up. Probably it had been lost by someone at one time. And this seemingly trivial fact—the sea is always washing up something—was unexpectedly linked with the loss of the recorder. The sailor's cap was elevated to the ranks of material evidence that the recorder had allegedly been stolen by the Russians, who had sent their own submarine specially for this purpose.

I repeat, 18 months have passed, but people are still returning to this fantastic tale. The other day, for example, this issue was raised at a briefing by Cooper, the White House spokesman. He said, incidentally, that there was simply no confirmation that anyone had stolen the recorder. Nevertheless, literally the same day, the NEW YORK TIMES published a story about the theft of this recorder.

Of course, this whole invention is not worth a thing. It is not difficult to guess that in the United States, too, there could hardly be anybody who would take it seriously. In my view, this fact is remarkable only in that it shows how hard it is to shake off the stereotypes of the past, and how hard it is to get rid of the immage of "an enemy," one so "insidious" that it could even send a submarine in order to carry off a flight recorder. And so they are trying to carry over the results of this James Bond-type action-packed adventure to the area of real, international relations.

But contrast sharpens the eyesight. Such, to put it mildly, isolated cases and recurrences of the past merely show up those changes and those positive moves which have already occurred and continue to occur in the world and in mankind's thinking.

Bessmertnykh Receives Canadian Ambassador

LD1101181889 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Questions of the further development of Soviet-Canadian relations, of a bilateral political dialogue were discussed today by Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and Vernon George Turner, Canada's ambassador to the USSR. The diplomats also exchanged opinions on a number of topical international problems, including the settlement of the situation related to Afghanistan and the state of affairs at the Vienna meeting of countries, participants in the conference on security and cooperation in Europe.

The Soviet diplomat received the ambassador at the latter's request.

China

Zhao Says Economic Reform 'Essential Condition'

PM1301161689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Purpose—Renewal"]

[Text] Beijing, 12 Jan—The economic reform that has swept through all the socialist countries is an essential condition for their further development. This was stated, as the CHINA DAILY reported today, by Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, in Handan, which he was visiting as part of a tour of the country.

At a meeting with Hebei Province leadership workers, he noted that reform is necessary to accelerate the socialist countries' scientific and technical development. They have come to the conclusion that since the seventies the old model of the planned economy has become an obstacle to such development.

Some people, Zhao Ziyang noted, still fail to understand the need for transformations in the socialist countries. This is because they do not realize that socialism can achieve success only through reforming the old planned economy. Doubts as to the correctness of the reform that arise from the present difficulties are just as erroneous as doubts as to the vitality of the socialist system itself.

We should be confident of the success of the reform, but at the same time patience and realism are needed in achieving the goals set, Zhao Ziyang stressed.

PRC Shares Soviet Stance on Chemical Weapons

OW1501062789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] According to reports by the mass media, many countries have welcomed the statement by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze that the Soviet Union intends to destroy its chemical weapons in the near future. During a speech at an international conference in Paris, Shevardnadze stressed: After signing the relevant documents, the Soviet Union will begin the destruction of its chemical weapons. In this connection, our station commentator Shakov writes:

The Soviet stance concerning the ban on use of chemical weapons has always been consistent. This refers to the past as well as the present. At this point, I would like to mention that it was only after the appearance of chemical weapons in Western countries that the Soviet Union began to manufacture them. Even during the most critical moment, however, the Soviet Union has never used them. In addition, in comparison to other countries, the Soviet Union has completely stopped the production of chemical weapons. This is a very important point. For example, in comparison with the United States, which has deployed chemical weapons in Western countries and other regions, the Soviet Union has never deployed chemical weapons in any country and has never supplied any country with chemical weapons.

The Soviet stance has won the support of many countries, including those in Asia. During a meeting in Paris on Sunday, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and his Chinese counterpart, Qian Qichen, discussed the ban on the use of chemical weapons, as well as other issues. The two foreign ministers particularly pointed out the importance of settling this issue completely. The Chinese people profoundly understand the horror of chemical weapons. Between 1937 and 1945, the Japanese invaders used chemical weapons extensively during their invasion. A secret memorandum by American military experts released recently proved this sufficiently. This document mentioned that the Japanese Army released a large amount of poisonous gas in the Wuhan area during October 1941. The Japanese invaders also committed similar crimes in other parts of China. History must not repeat itself. Chemical weapons must be destroyed. This is an urgent task for today.

PRC Minister Cited on Attitude to Khmer Rouge

PM1601112989 Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 Jan 89 p 1

[TASS report: "Minister's Statement"]

[Text] Paris, 14 Jan—China approves of neither the policy of the "Khmer Rouges" nor of their return to Phnom Penh to monopolize power. This was stated at a meeting with journalists by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qicheng at the end of his official visit to France.

The head of the PRC foreign policy department advocated the settlement of the Cambodian problem and pointed to the need for agreement to be reached among all four interested Cambodian sides—the PRK Government, the "Khmers Rouges," the supporters of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and the forces of Son Sann—and the formation of a quadripartite government on that basis.

Qian Qicheng also stressed that France and China advocate holding an international conference on the settlement of the Cambodian problem and the international monitoring of the Vietnamese troops' withdrawal from Cambodia. As for Vietnamese-Chinese relations, the minister stated that they could be improved with the settlement of the situation around Cambodia.

Chamber of Commerce Discusses PRC Trade Ties

OW1501072989 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Excerpts] In our current efforts to expand and enhance economic and trade cooperation with foreign nations, our country has paid special attention to sponsoring international exhibitions. The USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry held a press conference in Moscow to introduce to foreign reporters the Soviet Union's exhibition activities. [passage omitted]

At the press conference, reporters asked, among many other questions, how the Soviet Union is going to strengthen ties with China in exhibition activities. Vasilyev, general manager of the All-Union Corporation of Exhibition Centers, replied: The talks on a Moscow exhibition of products from China's Heilongjiang Province are underway now. We should point out that China has been very enthusiastic about participating in exhibitions in our country lately. Contacts between us are expanding and deepening continuously. Right now, our major task is to make exhibitions a forum where we can conduct business directly with Chinese enterprises, firms, and corporations.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Second Jakarta Meeting on Cambodia Scheduled

February Date Announced

LD1701180089 Moscow TASS in English 1651 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Phnom Penh, January 17 TASS—The second informal meeting on Kampuchea will be held in Jakarta in February, Kampuchea's prime minister and foreign minister Hun Sen told foreign reporters.

The Kampuchean leader said in the interview, broadcast by the news agency SPK, that it was important that all groups, including the Khmer Rouge, take part in the meeting on which conflicting Kampuchean sides agreed last year.

Kampuchea proposed Indonesia, as the country organising the meeting, to hold it even if the Khmer Rouge and other opposition groups do not take part in it, Hun Sen said.

Khmer opposition leader Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who earlier demanded that the informal meeting be postponed for an indefinite time, said last week in Paris that he will send a delegation from his group to participate in the second round of talks.

The first informal meeting of Kampuchean conflicting sides, in which also Vietnam, Laos and countries grouped in the Association of South East Asian Nations took part, was held in Jakarta last July.

Follows Vietnamese Pullout Promise

BK1801073589 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Viktor Valentinov commentary]

[Text] The second [Jakarta] informal meeting, or JIM, on the Cambodian problem is scheduled to be held at the end of February in Jakarta. Ten days ago, no one thought that this meeting would be held. But since 7 January the situation has changed; on that day, Vietnam announced its decision to complete its troop withdrawal in September if an agreement is reached among the Cambodian parties involved in the conflict.

Concerning this matter, Comrade Viktor Valentinov, Soviet journalist specializing in international affairs, has the following comments:

The road toward holding the meeting in Jakarta, JIM, has been very complicated, although at first there seemed to be no difficulties. In November last year in a Paris suburb, Comrade Hun Sen, head of the PRK Government, met with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Mr Son Sann, who are leaders of opposing Cambodian groups. Soon after their discussion, they agreed that the process initiated by JIM-1 should continue.

We would like to recall that at the meeting held in Bogor [near Jakarta] in July 1988, the warring Cambodian groups had compromised on the general principles regarding the restoration of peace and national reconciliation in Cambodia. The daily agenda was then made up of issues regarding new steps to be taken. It was in order to discuss these new steps that they agreed to hold JIM-2. The participants in this meeting—as at the first meeting—in addition to the Cambodian groups, were to be Vietnam, Laos, and the six ASEAN countries. Everything seemed to progress successfully. But by the end of the year, Samdech Sihanouk had suddenly and unexpectedly moved backward by calling off the meeting. He imposed his conditions—supposedly whispered by Pol Pot and milieus supporting Pol Pot—pressuring Phnom Penh and Hanoi, conditions which have hampered the holding of JIM-2.

Only after 7 January, as we mentioned above—that is, after Hanoi announced its new initiative—did the cloud of illusion disperse and the preparations for the second meeting in Jakarta resume.

Obviously, last year's general trend toward reducing international tension also had its impact on this matter. The agreement on Afghanistan signed in Geneva in April, although it has not yet brought peace to Afghanistan, has served as a model for settling the most complex regional conflicts.

The real, decisive impact stems from the goodwill of Hanoi and Phnom Penh, which, in our opinion, will not ignore any prospects for moving the dialogue forward.

All of this is of great significance, but it would be incorrect if we do not recall the ASEAN countries' contributions to the continued process toward settling the conflict in Cambodia. Since the outburst of the conflict, Indonesia has always been observed to take a constructive stance by upholding a consistent and clear-sighted position in maintaining direct contacts with Vietnam. Since the middle of last year, after Mr Chatchai Chunhawan's government took office, Thailand has intensified its role. Thailand immediately reduced tension in its relations with Laos and established direct contacts with Vietnam. Listeners must have been well aware of the outcome of these contacts. A few days ago, Mr Sitthi Sawetsila, the Thai foreign minister, paid an official visit to Hanoi. During this visit, the Thai side managed to overcome major points of disagreement with Vietnam over the Cambodian problem.

Speaking at their joint news conference in Hanoi, Comrade Nguyen Co Thach, Vietnamese minister, said: Between me and my Thai counterpart there remain only very minor differences.

He added: We hope the Cambodian problem will be resolved within the first quarter of this year, or by September at the latest.

The term "by September" is not hard to understand. This is the timetable in which Vietnam will withdraw all its troops from Cambodia. As for "within the first quarter of this year," in my opinion it reflects the great hopes placed by the Indochinese and ASEAN countries on JIM-2, concluded Comrade Viktor Valentinov, Soviet international affairs journalist.

'Compromise' on Vietnamese Troop Pullout Welcomed

PM1701150589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[Petr Tsvetov "Viewpoint": "The Benefit of Compromise"]

[Text] Yet another attempt has been made to unblock the situation around Cambodia. The SRV and the PRK have taken an important step in a spirit of good will. Of course, it can be assessed as a compromise, but it is precisely a reasonable compromise without which the dispute cannot be settled.

As already reported, during the celebrations in Phnom Penh devoted to the 10th anniversary of the overthrow of the genocide regime, prominent SRV and PRK representatives announced that if a political settlement of the conflict is reached, the Vietnamese volunteer units will be completely withdrawn from Cambodia and will go home no later than September 1989. The representatives of the two Indochinese states had previously given the start of 1990 as the last date for the withdrawal of the forces. This aroused certain objections. For example, PRC representatives expressed the following opinion: If the Soviet Union can withdraw its forces from Afghanistan within 9 months, then Vietnam can do likewise in the same period. (I would note that I am not sure that the experience of settling one conflict should be so literally transferred to another.)

Let us try to look once again at the roots of this regional problem. Earlier, as now, the presence of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia has been determined by the threat of a restoration of Pol Pot's genocide regime. Virtually everyone recognizes that this danger has still not been removed, and this was demonstrated in particular during the debates at the 43d UN General Assembly session. So the laying down of the following conditions under which the new SRV and PRK initiative will be implemented is quite natural: the reaching of accords among the Khmers, a cease-fire, and the refusal by foreign states to grant military aid and to allow territory to be used for interference in Cambodia's internal affairs. International monitoring of all this must be established. If this is not done, the troop withdrawal will be implemented, as was stated, in 1990. It will take this long for the young Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Army to get stronger, and this would fully guarantee that the Pol Pot supporters will not return to power.

The statement made in Phnom Penh aroused great international reaction. The Soviet Union has expressed its full support for the important new action by the two Indochinese states. Attention is drawn to PRC's reaction. A spokesman from China's foreign policy department assessed the SRV and PRK actions as a "step forward." It is symptomatic that the visit to Hanoi by Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila a few days ago showed significant improvements in relations between the two countries and a rapprochement between their positions, which were formerly so different, on the Cambodian problem.

If all sides involved in the conflict take adequate steps, and such hopes are far from unfounded, the work for a peaceful settlement in Kampuchea will be on the home straight. As for the Soviet Union, as the USSR Foreign Ministry's statement stresses, "it will continue to contribute in every possible way to a political settlement in this part of the world."

Thai-Vietnamese Talks Stress Cambodian Settlement

BK1301113089 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Vietnam and Thailand support settlement of the Cambodian problem, to be reached in a manner that conforms with the interests of the peoples of Cambodia and the other countries in this [Southeast Asian] region.

The press statement summarizing the outcome of the talks between the foreign ministers of Thailand and Vietnam in Hanoi noted the need to halt external interference in Cambodian internal affairs and to seek ways to create national reconciliation in Cambodia.

Vietnam and Thailand also expressed the intention to strengthen their bilateral relations.

Moscow Hopeful of Early Cambodian Settlement

OW1701205189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Fedorov commentary]

[Text] Listener friends: In our broadcasts we have talked about the Cambodian issue many times. This issue is very complicated. Other issues of international relations in Asia centering on this question are also very complicated. Today we are pleased to inform all that there is hope for the early settlement of the Cambodian issue. In this connection, our station commentator Fedorov writes:

Things happening around Cambodia are numerous, and 1 hour [duration of this program] will not be enough to talk about all of them. Therefore, I have decided to discuss the most important things which have a decisive bearing on the development of events. The top news item is that China is against the policy of the Khmer Rouge as well as against its return to monopolize political power in Phnom Penh. These remarks were made by Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen after his talks with French leaders in Paris.

Not long ago a spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry said that once an agreement on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia was reached, Beijing would be willing to halt military aid to the Khmer opposition. Vietnam has announced that it will complete the withdrawal of its troops from Cambodia this September, and China has welcomed this statement by Vietnam. [Words indistinct] Dinh Nho Liem, first deputy foreign minister of Vietnam, arrived in Beijing on 14 January.

According to an AFP report from Beijing, Dinh Nho Liem will meet Chinese leaders to discuss questions of mediating the Cambodian situation. This is a good development.

Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila's recent visit to Hanoi left a deep impression on me. Of course, the deep impression is not his visit but his constructive position on the Cambodian issue. There, (?political discussions) were raised to a new level, and he showed concern for the safeguarding of peace and the replacement of the outdated policy of confrontation by good-neighborly relations.

At a press conference in Hanoi, Sitthi Sawetsila said that Thailand's position is that after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, no civil war will be allowed to break out in Cambodia. Like other countries, Thailand holds that Pol Pot should not participate in the future government of national unity. Besides, reports from Bangkok said that Prime Minister Chunhawan was ready to receive Cambodian Government leader Hun Sen. So far Bangkok has refused any contact with Phnom Penh. This is a very important change. I think all will agree with my view.

It is very important to make the Khmers take part in the mediation process as soon as possible. In fact, the Khmer opposition faction [words indistinct]. Now they can achieve this easily because Pol Pot fails to obtain international support.

Indonesian Minister Holds Talks With Khmer Rouge

LD1701154189 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Bangkok January 17 TASS—Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, currently visiting Thailand, met with the Khmer Rouge and Son Sann groups leaders here on Monday.

The sides discussed an informal meeting on Kampuchea due to take place in Jakarta in February.

On Tuesday Alatas met with Thai foreign minister Sitthi Sawetsila, who informed him of his trip to Vietnam and the negotiations there. Alatas and Sawetsila agreed on a common stand on the unsolved aspects of the Kampuchean problem. They called upon all concerned Khmer groups and the region's nations to participate in the Jakarta meeting.

Alatas and Sawetsila exchanged opinions on the forthcoming ASEAN foreign ministers meeting in Brunei due to open at the end of this week. Along with the working-out of a common stand of the ASEAN countries on settlement of the Kampuchean problem, the agenda includes Thai and Indonesian foreign ministers reports on the recent talks with Vietnamese foreign minister Nguyen Co Thach and Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Continues Manila Visit

LD1701194989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1237 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Manila, 17 Jan (TASS)—The visit of a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the Philippines continues. Today the Soviet parliamentarians met Trade and Industry Minister J. Concepcion, Minister of Science and Technology A. Arisabal, Minister of Economic Planning [title as received] S. Monsod, and Minister of Agriculture and Food C. Dominguez. A meeting also took place with the speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippines congress, R. Mitra. There was discussion of a wide range of matters relating to the development of Soviet-Filipino relations in various spheres. Special attention was paid to widening contacts on an interparliamentary basis and to trade and economic cooperation.

Manila Peace Conference Declares Various Stances

HK1801064189 Moscow International Service in Tagalog 1300 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] An appeal was made to the people of the Asia-Pacific region to strengthen the struggle against foreign military might, militarization, and nuclear tests as an international conference of peace guardians closed in Manila. More than 200 delegates from Australia, New Zealand, Japan and other countries in the Pacific Ocean and South Asia took part in the conference.

A declaration adopted by the conference called for the opening of intensive discussion on the Soviet Union's peace initiatives aimed towards disarmament and reduction of tension in the region. The participants favored the removal of foreign military bases in the region and urged a peaceful settlement of the Afghan and Cambodian issues. They also expressed support for the peaceful unification of North and South Korea.

During the weekend the conference participants also plan to organize a peaceful march to the U.S. military bases in Subic Bay and Clark Field.

Article Examines Large Philippine Debt Problem

HK1801072989 Moscow International Service in Tagalog 1300 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] The Philippines plans to resume talks in mid-January with the International Monetary Fund which were suspended in late November last year due to the stringent conditions imposed upon the country in exchange for the release of new loans. The Philippines needs fresh loans because of the country's complicated financial and economic situation, according to an article by (Vassily Silipov).

The country's foreign debt is growing and has quintupled during the last 10 years. At present it stands at $29 billion, half of which is owed to the United States and more than a quarter of which is due to Japanese banks and companies. According to statistics provided by the Philippine Senate, the country should receive $6.6 billion in export receipts this year. However, foreign debt payments would require $3 billion. How does the Philippines plan to deal with these debts? Debt payments would take up a big portion of export earnings which, in turn, means a limitation in imports of products needed for the country's development. Or perhaps, new loans should be decreased.

However, the Philippines cannot cover two-thirds of the interest payment for its debts with money coming from the United States, Japan, and other countries of the European Common Market, not even if the Philippines raises the rent for the U.S. military bases.

In an effort to save its military bases in the Philippines, Washington, along with its allies, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, Australia, South Korea, and others, has promised to extend new loans to Manila. This pledge is now more popularly known as the mini-Marshall plan. Implementation of the plan is to begin in early 1990.

However, as is believed by many Filipinos, it would be more beneficial to the country if debt payment was deferred or if large debt reduction is realized rather than concluding a new loan agreement which only serves to tighten the noose of dependence. The aid will only ensure aggravation of social and economic problems in the Philippines. Consequently, the Senate last month set a limit on foreign debt payment, determining that only 20 percent of export earnings would be used for this purpose, thus allowing the country to save some $1.1 billion every year until 1992. The amount will then be devoted to the national economy. If this proposal is not implemented we will bleed to death, said Alberto Romulo, author of the resolution.

In pushing forward this draft resolution the senators were well aware of the reactions from foreign creditors, and it was not long before the reactions erupted. The International Monetary Fund immediately took advantage of ongoing talks in Manila on the approval of new loans to the Philippines to demand stringent conditions that would ensure greater access for transnational corporations, new privileges for private foreign investors, and interference in the country's economic process. It is not surprising that the Philippine panel rejected these conditions, which were a clear transgression of the country's national sovereignty.

President Aquino now hopes that the International Monetary Fund will agree to some concessions that will allow the Philippines time to pay off its foreign debts. However, the international credit market could only provide loans at higher interest rates in the future.

The growing budgetary and trade deficits of the United States will further affect the standing of the dollar. To check its continuing fall and to stabilize its exchange rate, the United States will have to increase interest rates. Big American banks such as Citibank and Chase Manhattan have already raised bank rates to unprecedented levels in recent years. It is believed that other banks will follow suit—a move which will lead to more hardship for their debtors. The debt crisis has become an international problem, and one of the leading obstacles to social and economic development in debtor countries.

At the recent UN General Assembly session the Soviet leader outlined proposals intended to remove some of these obstacles. One of the proposals was the limitation of debt payment in accordance with the economic development of the countries. The initiative put forward by the Philippine Senate is geared in this direction. If the idea of limitation of debt payment is accepted by the world community, this could alleviate not only conditions in the Philippines but also in other developing countries.

Near East & South Asia

USSR Forces No Longer in 26 Afghan Provinces

PM1801131389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6

[V. Izgarshev and V. Okulov dispatch: "Changing of the Guard. PRAVDA's Correspondents Report From Afghanistan"]

[Excerpts] Kabul, 17 Jan—Kabul awakes before daybreak. As a matter of fact, sleep is the last thing on many of its residents' minds. The cold January weather, which missed central Russia, is simply rampant here. Thermometer readings have fallen to 20 degrees below. This is severe. Local housing, lacking central heating, is not suited to cold weather. In addition there is a shortage of fuel. Prices for firewood, oil, and kerosene have rocketed. Food supplies have been disrupted due to the fact that armed opposition forces have blockaded the highways. Soviet soldiers have come to the residents' aid. Yesterday we visited six locations in the city where our soldiers were distributing kerosene and flour. We and the Army Rear Services officers were surrounded by children, and elderly people approached us with words of sincere thanks....

The Soviet side is rigorously honoring all its pledges. The first stage of the withdrawal was implemented in the spring and summer of last year. This was done—let us emphasize—strictly according to the set schedule. There are no longer Soviet troops in 26 of the 32 provinces.

Unfortunately, opposition forces inside and outside the country do not adhere to the letter and spirit of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, do not share the sober proposals by the republic government, and more often than not simply sabotage them. In particular, they rejected the cease-fire proposed by the republic's Armed Forces as of 1 January this year....

The clatter of machinegun fire can be heard in Kabul every now and then during the night. At some outlying security posts which protect the capital from shelling and raids, sentries are having to repulse armed sorties by the enemy. The latest missile shelling of the city occurred yesterday. Several missiles were launched; four citizens were killed and seven were wounded.

In the last few days one of us happened to visit security post No 30, well known to Kabul's residents. It is known as the Afghan capital's southern shield. It was manned by Soviet soldiers until 15 January, but on 16 January they handed their positions over to Afghan guardsmen. [passage omitted]

We spent the evening with military drivers who have already served their term. They are the subjects of letters and telephone calls to PRAVDA, and their mothers are especially worried. Let us assure you, our dear women: Nobody kept your sons back here! They made their own decision: The youngsters due to replace us "cannot cope with" Salang in the winter, please let us drive our vehicles and let the youngsters sit next to us and learn a little....

That was their decision, and the command fully approved their patriotic appeal. Who else but they—experienced, reliable, and tempered "Afghans"—should be entrusted with the most important and most responsible final stage. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Importance of Geneva Accords

LD1501230189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1730 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Station commentary presented by Aleksandr Malikov]

[Text] The political decision for a departure of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is nearly a year old. In practice, its implementation lies within the framework of two dates—15 May last year and 15 February this year. The quicker this exceptionally important landmark of 15

February approaches, the more obvious become the differences in the distance covered to date by the participants in the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. We, in point of fact, are completing our part of the road. Alas, one can't say the same of Pakistan and the second guarantor of the agreements, the United States, which has taken on a commitment not to interfere in Afghan affairs. They haven't gone beyond signing the Geneva documents. Any agreements are alive only when they are adhered to by everyone. This is why we have always insisted and continue to insist that all treaties and agreements must be fulfilled. This was stressed once again by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev from the rostrum of the United Nations.

Moreover, the settlement of the external aspects of the Afghan problem is closely linked and constantly interacts with internal factors. I have to admit that I haven't heard of any of the participants in the Geneva agreements, including the U.S. Administration, casting doubt on the right of the Afghans themselves to introduce order into their own home. But I think it is patently inadequate merely to declare that the situation in Afghanistan has to be settled by the Afghans themelves.

It is perfectly obvious that, while not actually resolving anything for the Afghans, it is necessary to help them step across the abyss of enmity and to try and sit them down at a single negotiating table. What do they need for that? Fresh arms supplies to inflame the discord, or a coordinated halt to them? A cease-fire, or a reply to this measure by more shots? Diplomatic efforts directed, using national traditions, at convening a peace jirgah, or the dodging of attempts to build bridges between Afghans?

You don't have to be a Spinoza to understand that the only reasonable choice is that in favor of a political, and not a military, settlement to the conflict in Afghanistan. The attempts by the opposition to exclude from Afghanistan's future the country's national democratic party, numbering 200,000 people, is also coming into obvious contradiction with common sense; however, this also applies to the unilateral refusal to conduct further talks with our country on alternatives for forming a broad-based coalition government, although it clearly would be rash to expect that the preceding meetings with the opposition in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan would immediately lead to concrete accords. Let the door remain open. It is no accident that, in the course of his working visit to Kabul, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Shevardnadze again stressed our country's readiness to play a mediating role in the intra-Afghan dialogue.

It is said that there is no ladder that doesn't start with the first rung. This rung, leading to the restoration of peace in Afghanistan by 15 February—if, of course, we are not seriously hindered—we shall pass. But in order to climb the whole ladder to the top, the appropriate steps by everyone who signed the Geneva agreements are needed.

Pogodin on Afghan Opposition Announcement

LD1701174589 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Leaders of the Alliance of Seven, representing different groups of the armed opposition and having headquarters in Pakistan, have announced the intention to form a provisional government of Afghanistan. According to the statement, it will govern the country after a military coup, and neither the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan nor former King Zaher Shah will take part in it. Here's what Radio Moscow commentator Aleksandr Pogodin writes:

Actually this is a new political ultimatum, a threat to escalate violence. The practically existing influential forces are being excluded from the future government in (?advance). The idea is being rejected of ending the bloodshed and creating conditions for real, free expression of the will of the people. Leaders of the opposition say that after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, a military victory will be practically predetermined. As for Moscow and Kabul, they don't want the Soviet troops to be detained in the country. What is more, their withdrawal should help restore peace, and not be a signal to new (?seizures) and new casualties. However, the forces opposing the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan are actually doing everything to undermine that withdrawal and build up tension in the country, instead of reducing it. Those forces need the presence of the Soviet troops in order to justify the continuation of war.

It should also be pointed out that the plans of the opposition to win a military victory are both dangerous and groundless. Kabul has all the necessary means, including up-to-date weapons, to bring to reason those who have taken the road of strength and pressure. But if a war is, after all, imposed on it, and it will have to react to that, it will be able to do that.

The Soviet Union on its part is ready to continue giving necessary assistance to Afghanistan. But in the present very complicated conditions, both Moscow and Kabul continue to hope that the voice of reason will be heard. The doors to contacts, to a constructive dialogue, remain open. It is only through a broad dialogue that a real coalition government of peace can be formed in Afghanistan, with the participation of all political forces, parties, and groups.

Soviet General Comments on Afghan Withdrawal

AU1401171089 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jan 88 pp 54-55

[Interview with Major General Lev Borisovich Serebrov, spokesman of the Supreme Command of the Soviet Army in Afghanistan, by DANAS special correspondent Miroslav Lazanski in Kabul: "It Is too Early To Speak About It Being a Mistake"; date not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Kabul—He is medium tall, slim, and dresses in a commando camouflage uniform on which it is difficult to discern his general's epaulets. He drives a gray Volga without license plates and with curtains on the windows, and is always accompanied by two GAZ vehicles full of soldiers with Kalashnikovs at the ready, one in front of his car and one behind it. When I saw him for the first time I was not sure that this was he—Major General Lev Borisovich Serebrov, spokesman of the Supreme Command of the Soviet Army in Afghanistan. An officer I used to hear about back in Moscow, one of the three main Soviet generals in Kabul. His manner is very relaxed, but still military; his approach to soldiers is simple and lacks superfluous formalities, which is a characteristic only of those who have really experienced war and its atmosphere. Maj Gen Lev Serebrov is in fact a real representative of the new generation of young Soviet generals who got their experience in the Afghan mountains. Generals Gromov, Zakharov, and Serebrov arrived here as colonels and then received their general's epaulets and decorations (Gromov has also become a hero of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan), and probably had perfect opportunities to further their careers.

Serebrov was born in Voronezh in 1939. He graduated from the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy in 1970 and the General Staff Military Academy in 1983. He has commanded various units.

DANAS: Comrade General, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has been suspended. Will the evacuation nevertheless continue, will the last Soviet soldier leave this country on 15 February as was announced, and how many troops have you withdrawn to date?

Serebrov: The first stage of the withdrawal has been completed, and in accordance with the Geneva agreements, we withdrew more than 50 percent of the limited contingent of our army in Afghanistan. In figures, this is about 50,000 soldiers, but the second stage of the withdrawal should be concluded on 15 February and the last Soviet soldier will leave Afghanistan on that date. In the first stage, the withdrawal took place under the control of a group of UN military representatives, who stressed how regularly the USSR implemented all its obligations under the Geneva agreements.

DANAS: You are reproached in the West for recently bringing reinforcements to Afghanistan, fresh troops and aircraft.

Serebrov: These are just fabrications, and I do not wish to try to discern their motives. I can only say that we have replaced some units with fresh troops, or rather, that some soldiers who completed their service went home and new ones arrived. Just a simple changeover, and nothing else.

DANAS: How long do Soviet soldiers serve in Afghanistan?

Serebrov: As you know, our army service lasts 2 years. The soldiers who come to Afghanistan first undergo training in special training centers in the USSR for 6 months, and then they stay 18 months here, in Afghanistan. Officers and noncommissioned officers usually come for 2 full years.

DANAS: How highly motivated are Soviet soldiers to serve in Afghanistan? Are there any volunteers?

Serebrov: Soviet soldiers know what is in store for them here; they learn about the situation before they come. There are many cases of coming at their own request and I can say that the morale of the units is very high.

DANAS: In you opinion, is there any analogy between the American experience in Vietnam and the Soviet in Afghanistan? Above all concerning alcohol, drugs, and desertions?

Serebrov: This is Western press speculation; there is no analogy. I have been here for 4 years and I have not met a single Soviet soldier who takes drugs or has taken drugs. There is no alcohol whatever, because you know that you cannot get it in this country, especially soldiers. I repeat, the morale of our soldiers is very high.

DANAS: Are there nevertheless some military similarities between your combat experience here and the American experience in Vietnam?

Serebrov: It is difficult to compare them because our tasks were quite different. The Americans were conquerors in Vietnam, but we have no such intentions and never did. Our entry into Afghanistan was our international obligation, aid to a fraternal people. We have not striven for any military victories and do not want any. Our military activities have been and remain strictly self-defensive. We have considerably reduced the intensity of our military activities lately. I stress once again: We did not want to subjugate the people and force them to their knees; this was not our aim.

DANAS: The Soviet press now carries articles which say that the entry of the Soviet Army into Afghanistan was "a Brezhnev policy error."

Serebrov: I have not read any such articles in the Soviet press.

DANAS: You have not read them?

Serebrov: No, I have not seen them. I think that the time will tell whether it was an error or not. The Soviet Army carries out the decisions of the political leadership, we receive our tasks from that leadership, and we carry them out. Therefore it is too early to say whether the entry in Afghanistan was an error. In any case, the peace solutions are not easy, and solutions must be searched for that will be in the interest of both Afghanistan and the USSR.

DANAS: Let us return to the present negotiations between Vorontsov, your ambassador in Kabul, and the mujahidin. How do you see them?

Serebrov: I am a Soviet Army spokesman here, and not a Foreign Ministry spokesman. From a military point of view, the opposition forces are exploiting the situation which arose recently, despite all these contacts. They are increasing their military activities in various parts of the country, and they are using missiles particularly intensively. We also notice intensified diversionist and terrorist activities aimed at demoralizing the people. In only some 20 days, 230 civilians, including women and children, were killed in missile attacks by the opposition forces on several Afghan towns, and about 600 were seriously wounded. About 650 residential and office buildings were completely destroyed in Kabul. The victims, I repeat, are not military personnel and buildings, but peaceful citizens. Despite the Geneva agreements, 580 various attacks on Soviet military units were carried out during this time, of which 90 were carried our with missiles and bombs, and airports were attacked 26 times, inflicting on us losses in personnel and equipment.

DANAS: Have you, because of that, begun to use ground-to-ground ballistic missiles and MiG-27 fighter-bombers?

Serebrov: We want to prevent terrorism, and therefore we have taken certain measures of self-defense. Among other things, we have delivered additional modern weapons to the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan, including ballistic missiles that you have mentioned.

DANAS: It is speculated in the world that these missiles can be used against Pakistan, too.

Serebrov: That is a twisted interpretation; there is no such assignment. The missiles are here exclusively for defense against large concentrations of opposition forces that attack Soviet units and towns. It must be said that the range of these ground-to-ground missiles is under 300 km.

DANAS: It is said in the West that these deliveries of modern weapons to the Kabul government are a violation of the Geneva agreements.

Serebrov: That is not true because these deliveries do not contradict the Geneva agreements, considering that they constitute a prerogative of two sovereign states. The deliveries of Soviet arms to the Afghan Army are made on the basis of bilateral agreements and government treaties that exist from as early as 1921. The fact that they are being implemented at the request of the Afghan Government is a response to the intensified deliveries of equipment to the opposition groups by Pakistan and the United States, and it is a forced step. According to the Geneva agreements, Pakistan is bound to "refrain from aiding and abetting, and from direct or indirect support to, the rebels and their separatist activities against Afghanistan; it must not allow any training, financing, or recruiting of mercenaries on its territory for the purpose of conducting hostile operations, and it must not send such mercenaries to the territory of the neighboring state. [no end quotation marks as published]

DANAS: Now that you are mentioning mercenaries, are there any foreign military experts and instructors among the mujahidin?

Serebrov: Yes, we know of American, British, and Chinese experts. For the opposition groups, they are particularly important in training them to use anti-aircraft missiles, with which they shoot at and shoot down civilian planes, too.

DANAS: Afghanistan has obviously become a country where new weapons as well as new tactical moves are being tested. Of course, there are also foreign instructors. There is speculation that officers from the Warsaw Pact allied armies also stayed in Afghanistan on your side to gain experience in anti-guerrilla combat tactics. A Western newspaper reported some time ago that Cuban soldiers were seen near Kabul.

Serebrov: This speculation has no foundation. There have been no officers of Warsaw Pact allied countries nor any Cubans in Afghanistan. There has been only the Soviet Army.

DANAS: It is usually said that every war brings certain surprises at the professional military level, and that no war plan ever survives its implementation. How much has Soviet tactics changed in Afghanistan, especially as against the mujahidin tactics?

Serebrov: To put it most simply, our tactics as well as the tactics of the opposition groups have changed. However, it is difficult to speak about some open combat because the armed opposition uses vile tactics: attacks from ambush, mines, strike at civilian targets, and the like. Minefields are a special problem: We have located exactly 2,131 minefields. Out of this number, we demolished or cleared 1,518 minefields, and the remaining 613 we handed to the Afghan Army with proper documents. Let their pioneer units clear them. In the course of the 9 years of war, we discovered and destroyed tens of thousands of various mines, from the most simple to very sophisticated mines. Mines were the cause of considerable losses in this war.

DANAS: There have been reports that special Soviet commando units, the so-called "reydovitsi" and "visotniki" [Russian terms used] also use the method of changing into guerrilla uniforms, or rather the national costume of Afghan opposition forces.

Serebrov: No, never. Soviet soldiers fight only in Soviet uniforms, but there were cases of Afghan opposition forces wearing our uniforms and making a surprise attack.

DANAS: Do you see any end to the war?

Serebrov: We proceed from from the premise that the problems of Afghanistan may be solved by peaceful means. This country needs a constructive peaceful dialogue for a political solution. I think that there is no alternative to a national agreement.

DANAS: As a soldier and general, are you pleased that you are serving in Afghanistan?

Serebrov: Every duty is difficult and honorable. Of course I am pleased that I am serving here, although it is not easy, as you have seen yourself. However, I, too, wish for peace, for I also have a family waiting in Moscow....

Afghan Parliamentarians Visit Tajikistan

PM1601161589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Dushanbe, 15 Jan—For 3 days an Afghan parliamentary delegation headed by Khalil Ahmad Abawi, chairman of the People's Chamber of the Afghan National Council, visited Tajikistan.

During a conversation at the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the guests were told about the enhancement of the role and the expansion of the powers of the soviets of people's deputies in conditions of restructuring, and the essence and significance of the political reform taking place in the country were explained to them.

The delegation head expressed gratitude to the friendly Soviet Union for its constant and selfless aid to the Afghan people. He rated highly the signficance of economic ties between oblasts in the Tajik SSR and Afghanistan's border provinces and expressed the hope that those forms of mutually benenficial cooperation will continue to expand and develop.

The Afghan parliamentarians left Dushanbe for Tashkent today.

Arab Envoys Condemn Israeli Actions in Lebanon

LD1701194589 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The council of Arab ambassadors and the heads of diplomatic missions accredited to the Soviet Union are watching with great concern Israel's aggressive actions against Lebanon, a statement adopted by Arab ambassadors in Moscow said.

The ambassadors conveyed the text of the statement to Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh today.

The statement said that the council bitterly condemned these aggressive actions and is outraged by Israel's latest moves aimed at driving out the native population of Lebanon's border villages.

People in these villages refuse to yield to the diktat of Israel and its puppets and oppose Israel's policy of occupation and repressions in south Lebanon.

Bessmertnykh told the Arab ambassadors that the Soviet Union resolutely denounces Israel's aggressive actions against Lebanon, which are a gross violation of international law and basic human rights, a TASS diplomatic correspondent was told at the USSR Foreign Ministry today.

"It is imperative to press for an undelayed implementation of Security Council resolutions calling for the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Lebanese territories and for an end to Israel's interference in internal affairs of Lebanon which is an independent and sovereign Arab state," the Soviet diplomat said.

The participants in the conversation were unanimous in favouring an early transition to practical steps toward a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East for which favourable conditions are now shaping up in the world.

The Arab ambassadors spoke highly of the Soviet stand on Middle East settlement and expressed gratitude for the attention paid by Soviet leaders to the development of friendly relations with Arab countries and establishment of broader contacts with the league of Arab states.

The Arab participants in the meeting included: ambassador of the Yemen Arab Republic Muhammad ‘abd al-‘Uthman, ambassador of Lebanon Mahmud Hamud, ambassador of Tunisia Ahmed Abderraouf Ounaies, and counsellor of the PLO mission in Moscow M. Mubarak.

Balebanov on Mideast Peace Prospects

LD1801110989 Moscow TASS in English 0827 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

The tragic position of the population in the Israel-occupied Arab territories and Tel Aviv's repressive actions against the Palestinians to suppress the people's uprising which now enters its 13th month now have extremely heightened the international community's concern for the destiny of the long-suffering Arab people, and have given rise to mounting demands for an international Middle East peace conference as soon as possible.

The active involvement of the European Economic Community (EEC) in the quest for ways to convene such a conference is important. With this end in view, official representatives of the governments of EEC countries have met the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leadership, and visited Israel and a number of Arab states.

An international seminar in Paris on the Middle East problem was an important step in the peace process. It was attended not only by prominent political figures of Western Europe but also by deputies of the Israeli Knesset and by PLO representatives.

The seminar has shown that an Arab-Israeli dialogue is possible. It is also clear that one just cannot achieve peace in the region without compromises which can only be reached through dialogue.

The Europarliament's idea of holding an international meeting of parliamentarians representing the parties directly involved in the conflict, including Israel and the PLO, as well as five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council in June this year has also attracted attention.

It seems that if such a meeting is held it could become a precursor of a future international Middle East peace conference under U.N. auspices.

The realistic and responsible stand of the Palestine Liberation Organisation which has now recognised all U.N. resolutions on the Middle East is an important factor for the convocation of such a conference.

However, there are still no positive changes in Israel's stand. Tel Aviv still refuses to recognise U.N. resolutions on the Middle East, is unwilling to sit down at the negotiating table with the PLO, and rejects all peace initiatives of the Palestinians and of other parties that come out in favour of a political settlement.

As a result, there has emerged a clear distinction in attitudes to such a conference. On the one hand, practically all the international community is for it, and on the other hand Israel blocks all these initiatives.

The idea of holding an international Middle East peace conference is winning supporters the world over. The international community's task now is through joint efforts to make Tel Aviv and its supporters abandon their pointless objection to a conference.

Sub-Saharan Africa

SWAPO Secretary General Holds Moscow Talks

Meets With Adamishin

LD1301143689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1355 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jan (TASS)—Anatoliy Adamashin, USSR deputy foreign minister, today received SWAPO [South-West Africa People's Organization] Secretary General Toivo ja Toivo. In the course of the conversation they discussed questions connected with the settlement in southwest Africa and with the UN Security Council discussion of the draft resolution on implementation of the UN plan for Namibia, which is currently under way. The discussion took place in a spirit of comradely frankness and mutual understanding.

Promises Support for ANC

MB1701113389 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] The secretary general of the South-West Africa People's Organization, Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, has made a brief stopover in Moscow. His name is undoubtedly quite familiar to our listeners because Mr Toivo ja Toivo is one of the founders of SWAPO and a prominent leader of the national liberation movement. He has served time as a political prisoner in South African jails. Our reporter has asked Mr Toivo ja Toivo to describe his vision of the future of Namibia, if its government will be formed by SWAPO. This is what Mr Toivo ja Toivo said:

[Begin Toivo ja Toivo recording] An independent Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO will be a democratic government, whereby all the people of Namibia who believe that they have no other country of their own but Namibia will be treated equally, irrespective of their color or creed. They will be treated equally; I want to reiterate that there will be no discrimination.

Apartheid, which is now carried on by South Africa in Namibia today, must come to an end once and for all. When we become independent, we will be members of the OAU Nonaligned Movement, of which we are already members, and of the United Nations. And we will be bound by the rules of these organizations. I must also say here that at the moment, there are some multinational companies which are operating in Namibia by violating decree No 1, which says all the multinational companies which want to exploit the natural resources of Namibia, they must do so with the concern of the Council for Namibia.

But these companies, for violating this, they went to operate in Namibia, for instance, in Rio Tinto Zinc which is mining the uranium in Namibia and others. [sentence as heard] These companies will have to enter into a new agreement between themselves and the Namibian Government under a SWAPO [word indistinct] government.

We know that we will have not sufficient technicians to do this type of work or to operate our mines, but will have to enter into new agreements with these multinational companies. That, all right, you have violated the decree No 1 by operating into the natural resources of Namibia without the concern of the Council for Namibia. Now, you have to pay (?reparation), and we request you to pay our technicians. You have to pay taxes to government of SWAPO.

If they agree, we go ahead. They operate and they train our people and, as the time goes on, when we know that we have sufficient knowledge from our technicians, we can still enter into a new agreement, which they either accept or reject because our economy is very much tied to that of South Africa and will have to work together economically with South Africa. Whether we want it or not, we are forced to do so. If we disrupt the economy of the country, we are going to suffer. Our people are going to suffer.

We will have a mixed economy at the initial stage of our independence. But, I want to say here that when we become independent, we are also going to assist our comrades in South Africa in destroying apartheid. We will give all the assistance at our disposal to the ANC of South Africa. [end recording]

ANC Leader Praises Gorbachev United Nations Speech

MB1701092289 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] In an interview with the Soviet news agency TASS, the secretary general of the African National Congress of South Africa, Alfred Nzo, said Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations has given a new impetus to resolving regional conflicts and eliminating the developing nations' debt. He pointed out that developing nations can get help from Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals to establish a long moratorium on their foreign debt payments. Speaking about the African National Congress, Alfred Nzo noted, its strategy was to form a democratic state where black and white citizens could be equal.

Katushev Opens Cooperation Talks in Ethiopia

LD1301232189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Addis Ababa, 13 Jan (TASS)—The eighth session of the intergovernmental Soviet-Ethiopian commission on questions of economic, scientific and technical cooperation and trade began today in the Ethiopian capital.

K.F. Katushev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of foreign economic relations, heads the Soviet delegation. Tesfaye Dinka, candidate member of the Politburo of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee and deputy prime minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE], is chairman of the Ethiopian side of the commission.

In the course of the session, the two sides' fulfillment of their mutual obligations on economic, scientific, and technical cooperation in the areas of agriculture and irrigation, industry, geology, the mining industry and power engineering, education and planning, and trade relations, will be reviewed. Much attention is being given to new areas and forms of commerical and economic cooperation between the two countries. It is planned to discuss the structure and volume of trade between the USSR and the PDRE in 1989 and to sign a protocol on trade in 1989 between the USSR and the PDRE.

Protocol Signed With Ethiopian Journalists

LD1401103389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2015 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Addis Ababa, 13 Jan (TASS)—A cooperation protocol for 1989-1990 between the USSR Union of Journalists and the Association of Ethiopian Journalists was signed here today. The document notes that the sides will render each other assistance in the dissemination and publication of information on the achievements of the peoples of the two countries, exchange delegations of journalists, and cooperate actively within the framework of the International Journalists Organization. The protocol envisages that Ethiopian journalists will visit the USSR in March 1989 to study at the Moscow International Institute of Journalism.

The Association of Ethiopian Journalists also signed agreements on cooperation with journalists organizations in Czechoslovakia, the DPRK, and Bulgaria.

Cubans Complete Pre-term Withdrawal From Angola

LD1601214089 Moscow TASS in English 1557 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Luanda January 16 TASS—The pre-term withdrawal of three thousand Cuban servicemen from the People's Republic of Angola has been completed. The last group of officers and men from that contingent sailed home from Luanda last night.

This means that fulfilment of the agreement to settle peacefully the situation in south-west Africa, signed at New York on December 22, has been started ahead of schedule on the initiative of Angola and Cuba. The agreement provides for a phased pull-out of the 50-thousand-strong Cuban contingent from the People's Republic of Angola within 27 months, starting with April 1st of this year, when the Republic of South Africa is to start carrying out the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 435 on Namibia's independence. Displaying their resolution to honour the assumed commitments and showing further goodwill, the Governments of Angola and Cuba decided to withdraw three thousand Cuban servicemen ahead of the April 1st time limit and have completed this peaceful operation in the past five days.

Support for Mozambican Rehabilitation Urged

LD1601152189 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1800 GMT 15 Jan 89

[From the "African Panorama" program; unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] We move to Mozambique, whose people are going through times no easier than their Angolan brothers. Mozambique has named 1989 the year of the

Mozambique Liberation Front's fifth congress. The June 1988 party conference laid down the congress agenda, which lists development of the economy as item No 4.

This will be the 3d year of implementation of the economic rehabilitation program undertaken on the IMF's recommendation. Like many other African countries, Mozambique is taking the course of attracting private capital and encouraging the creation of small and medium-sized enterprises, especially in the services sphere. The metical has deen devalued.

The reorganization of the economy has already yielded some results. Thus, in the first half of 1988 economic production rose by 5 percent compared with the same period in 1987, while production of consumer goods rose by 3 percent. A similar increase was recorded in employment figures. [passage omitted]

People's Mozambique is confronted with the acute problem of its foreign debt to the capitalist and socialist countries. Speaking at the United Nations on 7 December 1988, Mikhail Gorbachev came out in favor of canceling the debts of a number of developing countries. Mozambique is thought to be included in this group. We believe this would considerably mitigate its situation.

Although an attempt to reform the economy was made under President Samora Machel, the grave military situation at the time gave it no real chance of success. [Words indistinct], no matter how enterprising, would set up business knowing that it might be liquidated, in the most literal meaning of the term, at any time with an incursion by Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] bandits.

The amnesty law partly resolves this problem. In effect, some of the bandits are ceasing their antigovernment activity. The Mozambican leadership claims already to be in full control in some of the country's provinces. [passage omitted]

Mozambique cannot resolve the social problems caused by the war on its own. This is why an international conference on extraordinary aid to Mozambique was held in Maputo last April. It was attended by the aid-giving countries, including the USSR and the GDR, and UN representatives. A grant of $270 million was provided for the state's emergency needs. This is undoubtedly an impressive amount, but the Mozambican leadership is aware that it would be unreasonable, to say the least, to pin its hopes solely on foreign aid.

What are Mozambique's internal sources of revenue? Unlike Angola, for example, Mozambique lacks great mineral wealth. However it does hold an important place in the economic infrastructure of southern Africa. The port of Maputo is the largest among the South African Development Coordination Council member countries, and the Beira, Limpopo, and Tete corridors are important regional transport outlets.

It must be borne in mind, of course, that the question of Mozambique's successful economic development also hinges on the efficacy of the government's actions against Renamo and on whether or not South Africa stops supporting the bandits. The progress that has begun to take shape in relations between South Africa and Mozambique gives grounds for some hope. After the Songo summit, a tripartite agreement was signed on the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric power station. It will be recalled that Portugal remains its main shareholder and that South Africa will be the main consumer of its electricity. [passage omitted]

So the implementation of Mozambique's economic rehabilitation program has begun, and the foundations have been laid for its continuation. The results so far give grounds for expecting it to continue successfully.

West Europe

FRG Chancellor on Arms Cuts, Bilateral Ties

PM1301142789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Morning Edition p1

[TASS report under rubric "Abroad": "H. Kohl: Step in the Right Direction"]

[Text] FRG Chancellor H. Kohl said at a press conference that General Secretary Gorbachev has taken a long-awaited step in the right direction by announcing unilateral cuts in Soviet Armed Forces. This is particularly apparent in the planned reduction in those units and arms oriented toward a surprise attack and the seizure of foreign territory, which are stationed in the territory of our eastern neighbors.

A key problem of European security, Kohl continued, has been and still is the Warsaw Pact's superiority in conventional weapons. Talks on stability in this area throughout European territory, from the Atlantic to the Urals, must begin as soon as possible. The preconditions for this are now better than they have ever been. The negotiations on the mandate of the new talks are virtually completed. The conclusion of the Vienna meeting of representatives of CSCE member-states will open the way to these talks.

According to the chancellor, Bush has unequivocally assured him that talks on 50-percent cuts in the strategic offensive potentials of the great powers will be purposefully continued.

He continued: The FRG Government expects further improvements in East-West relations in 1989. As before, a central place in this respect will be given to the path opened up by General Secretary Gorbachev and myself: to broaden trust between our two states and governments and, on this basis, build firm, good-neighborly relations. We are currently preparing for General Secretary Gorbachev's reciprocal visit to our country in a spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation. We will adopt a joint statement outlining the prospects for the future of FRG-Soviet relations. Further agreements and treaties are also being drafted.

We appreciate the large number of our compatriots given permission to leave the Soviet Union: Their number reached a new record of 47,572 in 1988.

Kohl Predicts Progress in FRG-Soviet Ties

LD1301154589 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Bonn January 13 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to the FRG this year, during which a joint political document is to be signed, will turn a new page in the history of relations between the two countries, it was stated by the FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl in a televised talk with pressmen. I am sure, he continued, that we shall make big progress in our relations before the year is up, moreover in all spheres, including economic, scientific and technological cooperation, cooperation in environmental protection, cultural and youth exchanges.

The numerous agreements concluded during my visit to Moscow, the chancellor continued, are now being filled with concrete content. I am looking forward optimistically to their implementation and believe that relations between our two countries should be consolidated. Both sides agree that important steps are now required towards a further improvement of bilateral relations. It is very important also to enhance mutual confidence, he added.

Shevardnadze Receives Andreotti Message

LD1701172189 Moscow TASS in English 1635 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on Tuesday received the Italian ambassador in Moscow, Sergio Romano, at the latter's request. The ambassador handed him a message from Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti.

During their meeting Shevardnadze and Romano touched on a number of pressing international issues, in particular some aspects of a political settlement in Afghanistan.

Shcherbina Receives French Officials

LD1601163589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] On 13 January B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received G. Renon, French secretary of state for the prevention of natural and major technological disasters. During the conversation questions were discussed connected with providing assistance to eliminate the consequences of the Armenian earthquake.

Y. Pagniez, French ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Stroyev-Led Party Delegation Departs for France

PM1601113989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by Ye.S. Stroyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Orel CPSU Obkom, left for France 15 January to familiarize itself with the activity of the French Communist Party [PCF] in accordance with the plan for interparty ties between the CPSU and the PCF.

Spanish Communist Unification Congress Opens

LD1401203789 Moscow TASS in English 2026 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] Madrid January 14 TASS—A unifying congress of Spanish Communists opened here today. It is being attended by 653 delegates of the Communist Party of Spain (PCE) and 287 representatives of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain (PCPE) which supported the platform of joining the ranks of the Spanish Communists.

Delegations of communist and workers' parties, national liberation movements, as well as a CPSU delegation are present at the congress.

Those present were addressed by Ignacio Gallego, PCPE chairman. The congress, he said, is being held at an exceptionally significant period of favourable development of the international situation and important stage in the country's life. The political reality of present-day Spain calls for the creation of a single and strong communist party in the interests of the working people and further development of the unity of left-wing forces and the work for democracy and social progress.

Julio Anguita, PCE general secretary, in his speech emphasized the importance of achieving unity. He said the doors of the party remained open also for those Communists who were not taking part in this congress.

Kiev Official Leads Delegation

LD1301173089 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—A Soviet Communist Party delegation led by Griforiy Revenko, member of the party Central Committee and first secretary of the Kiev regional committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, left Moscow for Madrid today to attend the unification congress of the Spanish Communists.

Parties Agree to Merge

PM1601160189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6

[PRAVDA and TASS correspondents V. Volkov and R. Serebrennikov report: "Congress Ends Work"]

[Text] Madrid, 15 Jan—The Spanish Communists unification congress has ended work here.

The forum adopted a decision on the unification of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE] and the representatives of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain [PCPE], headed by its chairman Ignacio Gallego, supporting the platform of the unification of the Spanish Communists' ranks.

The congress co-opted 23 former members of the PCPE Central Committee including I. Gallego onto the PCE Central Committee. The resolution approved by the congress contains a thorough analysis of the country's political and economic situation and notes the need for the unity of left-wing forces based on a broad platform of joint actions against the government's socioeconomic policy and in defense of the working people's vital interests.

The international section of the resolution gives a high assessment of M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly session and the USSR's constructive stance at the Paris International Conference on Chemical Weapons.

The congress also adopted a "document on unity," representing a broad action program for Spanish Communists both within the country and in the international arena. The CPSU's policy of restructuring in the USSR and the transformations in other socialist countries, the document says, have given new impetus to the revolutionary process begun by the October revolution and have openly and boldly raised the fundamental problems facing mankind and the need for new ways to resolve them.

Mankind has perceived with satisfaction and hope the process of nuclear disarmament begun by the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as well as the talks on a 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear armaments, the document notes. However, these positive trends do not mean that the threat of nuclear catastrophe is a thing of the past. That is precisely why it is necessary to make use of all possible measures and all routes capable of leading to the creation of regions, zones, and corridors free of nuclear weapons.

After criticizing the recent decision of the Spanish Government to sign a Spanish-U.S. defense treaty and the country's entry into the WEU, Spanish Communists resolutely supported the all-European process, whose development means that the arms race and militarism must yield to mutual security.

As consistent defenders of the vital interests of the working class and all the working people and peoples of Spain, the PCE will broaden and strengthen the movement for peace and disarmament, continue the struggle against the country's participation in NATO and the WEU, support the holding in Spain of the eighth European conference on nuclear disarmament, advocate the simultaneous disbandment of military blocs, the removal of all U.S. military bases in Spain, and the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, and work for the removal of naval fleets from that region.

Delivering the closing speech to the congress, Julio Anguita, secretary general of the PCE, urged Communists to step up the activeness of the party's political and ideological work.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. Funding Demonstrations in Managua

LD1601091189 Moscow TASS in English 0752 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Managua January 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov:

The Nicaraguan Government foiled an attempt of opposition political parties and big business, acting under the tutelage of the U.S. Embassy in Managua, to turn an anti-government demonstration in Managua on Sunday into a riot. Sandinista police units guaranteed order during the procession in observance of the constitutional right of citizens to free political activity.

No serious incidents took place during the demonstration despite its openly counterrevolutionary nature and the provocative intentions of its organisers. News that the U.S. Embassy in Managua had earmarked 25,000 dollars to help stage this anti-government action had become known to the Sandinista Government before the demonstration. The government also learned about the opposition's plans to arrange the killing of "one or two demonstrators" and put the blame on the authorities, prompting a noisy campaign against alleged human rights violations in Nicaragua.

According to some figures, about 15,000 people took part in the demonstration, although the opposition leaders claim that 30,000 Nicaraguans marched through Managua. However, none of the two figures turned out to be of any importance, because most demonstrators did not know about the cause of the demonstration at all.

Some of the demonstrators were interviewed by this TASS correspondent. Many of them were ordinary peasants from the regions of Chontales, Boaco, Leon and other parts of the country. They work for major agricultural landlords who brought them to Managua on Sunday under the pretext of touring the capital.

One of the peasants said that he and other peasants understood only in Managua that they had been brought there to take part in an anti-Sandinista demonstration and did not approve of it.

Some of the most frenzied opponents of the Sandinistas tried to convince foreign journalists that all demonstrators had taken part in the action voluntarily. However, the disappointed faces of the peasants and the demonstration itself proved the opposite. In a bid to prevent publicity of the theatrical nature of this anti-government show, some of its organisers tried to disrupt the work of foreign T.V. reporters.

The anti-government demonstration in Managua shows that U.S.-supported troublemakers are ready to continue their pressure on the Sandinista government to make it abandon its revolutionary cause.

Political observers do not rule out other provocations designed to compromise the Sandinista government. Local newspapers are voicing serious concern over the gross interference of the U.S. Embassy in Nicaragua's domestic affairs by backing such anti-government actions.

Ortega Urges Bush Not To Repeat Reagan Policy

LD1701101689 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Managua January 17 TASS—Nicaragua's task is to look for ways of peaceful coexistence with the USA, said President Daniel Ortega. Speaking to the diplomatic corps accredited here, he called on U.S. President-elect Bush not to repeat the aggressive course of the Reagan administration towards Nicaragua and to conduct a realistic policy aimed at a peaceful settlement of the Central American crisis in line with rules of international law.

The Nicaraguan leader denounced the use of force in international conflicts and voiced support for their peaceful settlement. He expressed the hope that the new U.S. Administration and the governments of countries interested in a peaceful settlement in Central America would be able to lay down a basis for a stable and lasting peace in this area.

PRAVDA's Bogolomov Writes on Ortega

PA1401194989 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 11 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by P. Bogolomov of PRAVDA: "Daniel Ortega According to PRAVDA—A President Who Is Not Different From His People"]

[Text] Some of the proposals that Daniel Ortega, commander of the revolution, Nicaraguan president, and FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] National Directorate coordinator, officially made in the past few days include extending the unilateral cessation of the Sandinist People's Army offensive operations against the contras until 31 January, reiterating Nicaragua's willingness to talk with Honduras, and calling for a reduction of the foreign military presence in Central America.

One of Ortega's outstanding qualities is that he is practically no different from the people, whether he is attending a peasants meeting or a commemoration of some kind or seeing off military battalions headed for the conflict areas in Nicaragua's north.

His voice is a little low and subdued, yet he must speak on an "ardent continent," where possessing the art of public speaking is highly valued. He walks casually and does not have the slightest trace of the seriousness that marks a "great leader."

As a politician, Ortega is strong, primarily because he is receptive to the people and takes into consideration his opponents' viewpoints. Ortega not only drafts, but develops the FSLN's overall policy.

He occupies an intermediate position between the older and younger FSLN members. This is very important. Warning his comrades of the risk of assuming extremist positions, he organized the National Liberation Party, a very special group both in composition and tactics. By the way, one of the things that angers U.S. governing circles most is that the Nicaraguan leadership has remained united for so long. The subversive centers that wage the "undeclared war" against the Sandinist revolution would pay well for a repetition in Managua of the Grenada dissensions and an aggravation of disagreements within the FSLN. Fortunately, nobody has presented Nicaragua's enemies with this gift so far.

A great many people on the Potomac are furious over Ortega's "enigmatic magnetism" and the unyielding fortitude of his political and human position. Is this perhaps why many people everywhere are bent on discrediting him and his family? These people, for example, found great pleasure in commenting on the high price of the eyeglasses he bought in New York. At other times, these people have presented false "overwhelming" evidence that Ortega's government decisions, and even his hobbies, such as baseball, which he has been following for a long time, are "dictated by Havana." Ortega refuted this by saying: "You know, baseball is the only positive inheritance that the North American occupants of our territory left for Nicaraguans early in the century."

The Man of La Libertad

Those who fabricate all kinds of rumors swoop down on Rosario Murillo, Ortega's wife and leader of the Nicaraguan Association of Culture Workers. It has been said she arrived at a children's home wearing "a too expensive dress." How could it have been otherwise, considering that she had received several foreign women's delegations ½ hour before? As a rule, her enemies never say that she is a courageous and independent poetess who accused the Somozist dictatorship in her poems even at the risk of her life. In addition, she is the mother of eight excellent children.

I think Ortega's early days are symbolic. He was born at La Libertad, "svoboda" in Russian. This was in 1945, when the news of the defeat of Hitler's Reich shook the thrones of the Central American gorillas and forced the local dictators to abandon their hopes of turning the Western world into a fascist one.

Four and a half decades have passed since then. During all this time, the young man from La Libertad, who is now an internationally recognized figure, has followed the path of aspirations, restlessness, victories, and defeats that he chose. This is the way to a new Nicaragua.

U.S.-Honduran Exercises on Nicaraguan Border
LD1701101489 Moscow TASS in English 0805 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Havana January 17 TASS—Four thousand soldiers are participating in America-Honduras joint military exercises which began on Monday. The exercises, under the code names "Ahuas Tara-2" and "Terencio Sierra-89", are taking place on the Honduran border with Nicaragua and El Salvador, according to information gathered in Havana.

Latin American observers regard these military exercises as an attempt to prevent a Central American summit. Each time the possibility appears to make a step forward to peacefully settle the situation in the region the U.S. begins military exercises in Honduras, the PRENSA LATINA news agency reported.

"Ahuas Tara-2" and "Terencio Sierra-89" are the 67th military exercises since 1981 to be held by the U.S. on Honduran territory. The next military exercises "Lempira-89" are planned for the first quarter of this year, the PRENSA LATINA news agency reported.

Salvadoran Rebels Claim Military Successes
LD1701101789 Moscow TASS in English 0811 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Havana January 17 TASS—Over the past week Salvadoran guerrillas put out of action 227 officers and men of the army of the pro-American Duarte regime.

The clandestine Venceremos radio station has reported that in the same period the fighting-men of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMNLF) laid eight ambushes and attacked enemy positions in 41 populated areas inside the country, destroying three army lorries, a light tank, two helicopters, and demolishing 50 pylons of power transmission FMNLF conducts all operations within the framework of the offensive launched four months ago under the slogan "All people prepare for a rebellion".

Monday morning guerrillas suddenly attacked the base of a military engineering unit in Zacatecoluca, La Paz Department, which is one of the most strongly fortified facilities of the regime's army. According to information confirmed in San Salvador by military spokesmen, the rebels' attack was "intensive and prolonged".

Vorotnikov, Biryukova Attend Cuban Fete
LD1101034189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Camacho Aguilera, ambassador of the Republic of Cuba to the Soviet Union, held a reception today on the occasion of the national holiday, the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. The reception was attended by Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and representatives of party, local soviet, and public organizations.

Parliamentarians Leave for Havana Meeting
PM1701115389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR parliamentary group, left Moscow for Havana 15 January to take part in the consultative meeting of leaders of parliamentary groups from the socialist countries.

He was seen off at the airport by A.S. Yeliseyev, deputy chairman of the USSR parliamentary group, and other officials.

Chilean Minister on Earthquake Aid, Condolences
PM1701152789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Morning Edition p4

[TASS report: "Chile's Decision"]

[Text] Santiago—Chile will soon be sending aid to the Armenian earthquake victims through the International Red Cross, Chilean Foreign Minister Hernan Felipe Errazuriz said in an interview with local journalists. This aid, he emphasized, will be exclusively humanitarian in nature. We have been shown solidarity by other countries more than once, and we are now responding in the same way.

H. Felipe Errazuriz reminded them that some time ago the Chilean ambassador to the United Nations conveyed condolences to A.M. Belonogov, the Soviet permanent representative to that international organization, on behalf of his government in connection with the tragedy that had befallen Armenia.

Political & Social

PRAVDA Lists CPSU People's Deputies Candidates

PM1701153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jan 89 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "At the Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies From the Communist Party of the Soviet Union"]

[Text] After examining the protocol of the 10 January 1989 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the nomination of candidates for USSR people's deputy, as well as statements by the nominated candidate deputies on their consenting to run on the CPSU ticket—both of which, the protocol and the statements, have been received at the electoral commission—the latter has established that the nomination of all candidates for USSR people's deputy has been effected in accordance with the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies."

The commission has registered as candidates for USSR people's deputy from the CPSU:

ABALKIN Leonid Ivanovich—born 1930; director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economic Institute; Moscow City.

ABULADZE Tengiz Yevgenyevich—born 1924; movie director at the Georgian SSR Ministry of Culture's "Gruziya-film" Studio; Tbilisi City.

AVERKIN Vladimir Nikolayevich—born 1951; director of the No 1 boarding school; Novgorod City.

ADYLOV Vladimir Tuychiyevich—born 1948; leader of a team of lathe hands at the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry's Tashkent Aviation Production Association Named for V.P. Chkalov; Tashkent City.

AYTMATOV Chingiz—born 1928; writer, chairman of the Board of the Kirghiz SSR Union of Writers, chief editor of the journal INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA; Frunze City.

ALEKSEYEVA Lidiya Mikhaylovna—born 1951; secretary of the "Serp i molot" Kolkhoz party committee in Kursk Oblast's Dmitriyevskiy Rayon.

AFANASYEV Viktor Grigoryevich—born 1922; chief editor of PRAVDA; Moscow City.

BAKLANOV Oleg Dmitriyevich—born 1932; secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Moscow City.

BARYSHNIKOV Ivan Antonovich—born 1939; marker at the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building's Volga Autombile Plant Named for the 50th Anniversary of the USSR; Kuybyshev Oblast.

BEYSHEKEYEVA Zayna—born 1955; senior shepherd on the Dzhety-Oguzskiy State Specialized Farm in the Kirghiz SSR's Issyk-Kul Oblast.

BELOV Vasiliy Ivanovich—born 1932; writer, secretary of the Board of the RSFSR Union of Writers; Volgograd City.

BIKKENIN Nail Bariyevich—born 1931; chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST; Moscow City.

BORODIN Nikolay Vasilyevich—born 1944; chairman of the Board of the "Pervoye maya" Kolkhoz in Chita Oblast's Shilkinskiy Rayon.

VAGIN Mikhail Grigoryevich—born 1923; chairman of the Board of the V.I. Lenin Kolkhoz in Gorkiy Oblast's Koverninskiy Rayon.

VALEYEVA Zukhra Sibgatovna—born 1947; leader of a team of housepainters at the SU-3 Ufa Planning and Construction Association for Large-Panel Housing Construction; Ufa City.

VASILYEV Ivan Afanasyevich—born 1924; writer; Pskov Oblast's Velikolukskiy Rayon.

VELIKHOV Yevgeniy Pavlovich—born 1935; vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Moscow City.

VOROBYEV Nikolay Nikolayevich—born 1952; first secretary of Pskov Oblast's Pytalovskiy CPSU Raykom.

GVOZDEV Vladimir Matveyevich—born 1947; leader of a comprehensive mechanized team at the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry "Yuzhkuzbassugol" Production Association's "Raspadskaya" Mine; Kemerovo Oblast.

GERMAN (GRANIN) Daniil Aleksandrovich—born 1919; writer, secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Writers; Leningrad City.

GOLUBEVA Valentina Nikolayevna—born 1949; general director of the RSFSR Ministry of the Textile Industry's Ivanovo Cotton Production Association; Ivanovo City.

GONCHAR Aleksandr Nikolayevich—born 1958; secretary of a motorized rifle regiment party committee; Leningrad Military District.

GORBACHEV Mikhail Sergeyevich—born 1931; general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

GROMOV Viktor Ivanovich—born 1944; boring and turning lathe operator at the Verkhnesaldinskiy V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Production Association; Sverdlovsk Oblast.

GULOVA Zulaykho Sokhibnazarovna—born 1949; leader of a field-cultivation team at the "XXII partsyezd" Kolkhoz in the Tajik SSR's Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy Rayon.

YEROKHOVETS Irina Yakovlevna—born 1944; assembly worker at the USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry Minsk Computer Equipment Production Association's G.K. Ordzhonikidze Computer Plant.

ZAYKOV Lev Nikolayevich—born 1923; member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom; Moscow City.

ZIATDINOV Nazip Ziatdinovich—born 1925; director of the "Gigant" Sovkhoz in the Tatar ASSR's Tukayevskiy Rayon.

IBRAGIMOV Guseyn Rustam ogly—born 1951; drill operator at the "Neftyanyye Kamni" Marine Drilling Operations Administration of the "Kaspmorneftegaz" Production Association's Oil- and Gas-Extraction Administration Named for the 22d CPSU Congress; Baku City.

IVASHKO Vladimir Antonovich—born 1932; second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; Kiev City.

ILIZAROV Gavriil Abramovich—born 1921; general director of the RSFSR Ministry of Health's All-Union Kurgan "Vosstanovitelnaya travmatologiya i ortopediya" Scientific Center; Kurgan City.

IOVLEV Dmitriy Mikhaylovich—born 1946; mechanic at the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building "Moskvich" Production Associations's Motor Vehicle Plant Named for the Lenin Komsomol; Moscow City.

ISHIN Aleksandr Yakovlevich—born 1933; first secretary of Rostov Oblast's Shakhty CPSU Gorkom.

KABANOV Yevgeniy Nikolayevich—born 1952; captain-director of the "Kamchatrybprom" Production Association's "Sokolovo" freezer-trawler; Kamchatka Oblast.

KALININ Nikolay Vasilyevich—born 1937; commander of airborne assault forces; Moscow City.

KALISH Vitaliy Nikolayevich—born 1941; steelworker at the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy's "Dneprospetsstal" Electrometallurgical Plant Named for A.N. Kuzmin; Zaporozhye City, Ukrainian SSR.

KARPOV Vladimir Vasilyevich—born 1922; first secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Writers; Moscow City.

KIRGIZBAYEVA Tukhtakhon Bazarovna—born 1942; team leader on Syrdarinskiy Rayon's "Malik" Sovkhoz in the Uzbek SSR's Syr-Darya Oblast.

KLEPIKOV Mikhail Ivanovich—born 1927; leader of a comprehensive team on the "Kuban" Kolkhoz in Krasnodar Kray's Ust-Labinskiy Rayon.

KOLBESHKIN Aleksey Yefimovich—born 1945; leader of a team of toolmakers at the Voronezh "Elektronika" Science and Production Association; Voronezh City.

KRAVCHENKO Nalina Vasilyevna—born 1945; party committee secretary on the "Gryazinskiy" Sovkhoz in Lipetsk Oblast's Gryazinskiy Rayon.

KUDRYAVTSEV Vladimir Nikolayevich—born 1923; vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute; Moscow City.

LAPTEV Ivan Dmitriyevich—born 1934; chief editor of IZVESTIYA; Moscow City.

LARIONOV Vladimir Petrovich—born 1938; deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Yakutsk Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, director of the Institute of Physical Technical Problems of the North; Yakutsk City.

LEVITSKAS Vitautas Yuozovich—born 1933; general director of the Kaunas Fur Production Association Named for K. Gedris; Lithuanian SSR's Kaunas City.

LIGACHEV Yegor Kuzmich—born 1920; member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Moscow City.

LIZICHEV Aleksey Dmitriyevich—born 1928; chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Diectorate; Moscow City.

LUKKOYEV Yuriy Prokhorovich—born 1946; machine operator at the Volomskiy Timber Station under the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry "Karellesprom" Territorial-Production Association's Padanskiy Comprehensive Timber Procurement Facility; Karelian ASSR's Medvezhyegorskiy Rayon.

LUKYANOV Anatoliy Ivanovich—born 1930; candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Moscow City.

LUNEV Viktor Andreyevich—born 1949; lathe hand at the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building "Kompressor" Production Association's Moscow "Kompressor" Refrigeration Machine Building Plant; Moscow City.

MANYAKIN Sergey Iosifovich—born 1923; chairman of the USSR Committee of People's Control; Moscow City.

MARCHUK Guriy Ivanovich—born 1925; president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Moscow City.

MASKO Galina Ignatyevna—born 1947; deputy director of Slonim City's No 3 Secondary School; Belorussian SSR's Grodno Oblast.

MEDVEDEV Vadim Andreyevich—born 1929; member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Moscow City.

MENDYBAYEV Marat Samiyevich—born 1936; second secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; Alma-Ata City.

MKRTCHYAN Misak Levonovich—born 1938; first secretary of Leninakan Armenian Communist Party Gorkom; Leninakan City.

MOISEYEV Mikhail Alekseyevich—born 1939; chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, USSR first deputy defense minister; Moscow City.

MUNTYAN Mikhail Ivanovich—born 1943; soloist with Moldavia's A.S. Pushkin State Academy Theater of Opera and Ballet; Kishinev City.

NAZAROV Ivan Aleksandrovich—born 1949; first secretary of Omsk Oblast's Russko-Polyanskiy CPSU Raykom.

NAYDENOV Nikolay Andreyevich—born 1936; leader of a tunnelers team at the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry "Vorkutaugol" Production Association's "Tsentralnaya" Mine; Komi ASSR's Vorkuta City.

NESTERENKO Yevgeniy Yevgenyevich—born 1938; soloist with the USSR State Academy Bolshoy Theater, professor of the Moscow Tchaikovsky State Conservatoire; Moscow City.

NIKONOV Viktor Petrovich—born 1929; member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Moscow City.

NOVOZHILOV Genrikh Vasilyevich—born 1925; general designer at the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry's Moscow Machine Building Plant Named for S.V. Ilyushin; Moscow City.

NYUKSHA Konstantin Ivanovich—born 1938; toolmaker at the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry "Rizhskiy elektromashinostroitelnyy zavod" Production Association; Riga City.

OLEYNIK Boris Ilich—born 1935; poet, secretary of the Board of the Ukrainian SSR Union of Writers; Kiev City.

OSTROUKHOV Viktor Alekseyevich—born 1939; party committee secretary at the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry's "Sibkabel" Production Association; Tomsk City.

PARUBOK Yemelyan Nikonovich—born 1940; link leader on Zhashkovskiy Rayon's Suvorov Kolkhoz in the Ukrainian SSR's Cherkassy Oblast.

PATON Boris Yevgenyevich—born 1918; president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, director of the Ye.O. Paton Arc Welding Institute, general director of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences "Institut elektrosvarki im. Ye.O. Patona" Intersectorial Scientific and Technical Complex; Kiev City.

POSTNIKOV Viktor Ivanovich—born 1924; general director of the RSFSR State Agro-Industrial Committee's "Stavropolskoye" Broiler Production Association; Stavropol City.

POKHODNYA Grigoriy Semenovich—born 1949; shop chief on the Frunze Kolkhoz in Belgorod Oblast's Belgorodskiy Rayon.

PRIMAKOV Yevgeniy Maksimovich—born 1929; director of the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute; Moscow City.

PUGO Boris Karlovich—born 1937; chairman of the CPSU Central Committee's Party Control Committee; Moscow City.

RAZUMOVSKIY Georgiy Petrovich—born 1936; candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department; Moscow City.

ROMAZAN Ivan Kharitonovich—born 1934; director of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy's Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine Named for V.I. Lenin; Magnitogorsk City.

ROMAZANOV Kabdulla Zakiryanovich—born 1947; steelworker at the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy's Karaganda Metallurgical Combine; Kazakh SSR's Temirtau City.

RYZHKOV Nikolay Ivanovich—born 1929; member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Moscow City.

RYCHIN Yevgeniy Sergeyevich—born 1928; general director of the "Moskva" Agro-Industrial Combine in Moscow Oblast's Lyuberetskiy Rayon, resident in Moscow City.

RYUMIN Valeriy Viktorovich—born 1939; assistant general designer at the "Energiya" Science and Production Association; Moscow Oblast, resident in Moscow City.

SAAR Vyayno Aleksandrovich—born 1942; leader of a comprehensive team at the "Tallinstroy" SU-4 Trust; Tallinn City.

SAMOLICHENKO Ivan Ivanovich—born 1936; machine operator, leader of a lease collective on the "Orlovskiy" Sovkhoz in Novosibirsk Oblast's Tatarskiy Rayon.

SELEZNEV Igor Sergeyevich—born 1931; chief designer at the "Raduga" Machine Building Design Bureau; Moscow Oblast.

SIDOREYKO Vasiliy Larionovich—born 1950; drilling foreman at the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry "Surgutneftegaz" Production Association's Surgut No 2 Drilling Operations Administration; Tyumen Oblast.

SLYUNKOV Nikolay Nikitovich—born 1929; member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Moscow City.

SMYK Nikolay Mikhaylovich—born 1953; pressing machine operator, leader of a comprehensive team at Krasnoyarsk's V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Plant; Krasnoyarsk City.

SPASSKIY Igor Dmitriyevich—born 1926; general designer and chief of Leningrad's "Rubin" Planning and Assembly Bureau; Leningrad City.

TATARCHUK Valentin Ivanovich—born 1937; director of the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry's Solikamsk Pulp and Paper Combine Named for the 60th Anniversary of the USSR; Perm Oblast.

ULYANOV Mikhail Aleksandrovich—born 1927; artistic leader of the Yevg. Vakhtangov State Academy Theater, chairman of the Board of the RSFSR Union of Theater Workers; Moscow City.

UMALATOVA Sazhi Zayndinovna—born 1953; leader of a comprehensive team at the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building's Groznyy "Krasnyy molot" Machine Building Plant; Checheno-Ingush ASSR.

UTKIN Vladimir Fedorovich—born 1923; general designer and general director of the "Yuzhnoye" Science and Production Association; Ukrainian SSR's Dnepropetrovsk City.

FEDOROV Svyatoslav Nikolayevich—born 1927; general director of the RSFSR Ministry of Health's "Mikrokhirurgiya glaza" Intersectorial Scientific and Technical Complex; Moscow City.

FILIPPOVA Valentina Gavrilovna—born 1947; deputy chairman of the Board of the "Aley" Kolkhoz in Altay Kray's Tretyakovskiy Rayon.

KHMEL Valentina Petrovna—born 1939; leader of a comprehensive team of finishing workers at the SMU-5 Angara Construction Administration; Irkutsk Oblast.

CHEBRIKOV Viktor Mikhaylovich—born 1923; member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Moscow City.

CHERNYAYEV Anatoliy Sergeyevich—born 1921; assistant to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Moscow City.

SHALYYEV Atabally Bapbayevich—born 1945; drilling foreman at the South Turkmen Test Drilling Administration under the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry "Turkmengazprom" Production Association's "Turkmenburgaz" Trust; Turkmen SSR's Murgabskiy Rayon.

SHOROKHOV Viktor Nikolayevich—born 1949; troubleshooter at Tula's V.M. Ryabikov Machine Building Plant; Tula City.

SHTEPO Viktor Ivanovich—born 1928; general director of the Volgograd "Volgo-Don" Specialized Production Association in Volgograd Oblast's Kalachevskiy Rayon.

SHTOYK Garri Gvidovich—born 1939; director of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy "Kazpolimetall" Production Association's East Kazakhstan Copper and Chemical Combine; Kazakh SSR's Shemonaikhinskiy Rayon.

SHUKSHIN Anatoliy Stepanovich—born 1947; polisher at the USSR Ministry of Heavy, Power, and Transport Machine Building's Far East Plant of Power Machine Building; Khabarovsk City.

YAKOVLEV Aleksandr Nikolayevich—born 1923; member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Moscow City.

Preparations for Election of People's Deputies

"Democratic Basis' Urged

WA1800212a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Let's Get Ready for the Election on a Broad Democratic Basis"]

[Text] On 26 March there will an election of USSR's people's deputies. And although today, unlike previous times, one rarely sees banners of red bunting announcing the voting day, it would seem that everyone already knows it. This will be an event of major social and political importance. The USSR Central Committee emphasizes the great political importance of the forthcoming election, which is supposed to guarantee the formation of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies on the basis of the expression of the free will of the voters.

Qualitatively new conditions are being formed in the country and in society for assuring the effective, democratic functioning of the highest agency of authority, and for guaranteeing the new life and activity of the soviets. The decisions that were made by the November 1988 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the laws enacted by the 12th Special Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet are contributing to the radical renovation of our electoral system. The documents and the entire political atmosphere guarantee the real carrying out of those norms which, although previously they were officially proclaimed, were frequently not observed in practice.

The current electoral system makes it possible to involve millions of citizens in the active political process and to form a deputy corps that will defend in a worthy and active manner the interests of the nation under the conditions of perestroyka. A fundamental innovation is the election of one-third of the USSR people's deputies from public organizations. And this is very important. Public organizations encompass practically the entire population. Through them, as through the territorial and national-territorial formations, all the Soviet citizens will be represented in the agencies of authority.

The election campaign is gaining momentum. The Central Electoral Commission is operating with an increasing work load. PRAVDA has already discussed this. Okrug commissions have been created. This important stage of the election campaign has occurred in an atmosphere of glasnost and democracy. The candidates have been nominated and have been discussed on a broad democratic basis. The administrative agencies of public organizations, military units, and meetings of voters at their place of residence have nominated their representatives to the electoral commissions. Here too, at the first stage of the preparation for the election, there is greater evidence of democratic principles in action. More complete and more objective consideration is taken of the interests of the broad segments of the voters and the specific nature of the districts. The district electoral commissions now have large powers. And the responsibility is great.

The first demand that is made of them is the observance of the Law Governing Elections. They observe the preparation of the voter rolls and the submitting of them for general familiarization, they organize the nomination of candidates for election as deputies, they convoke and conduct pre-election meetings in the districts, and register the candidates who have been nominated. Their duty is to organize, jointly with the labor collectives and the public organizations, meetings between the candidates and the voters, and to provide a broad democratic platform for expressing the will of the people. There is no need to list all the powers—they are clearly outlined in the Law Governing Elections.

The question of questions is the formation of the deputy corps. There is no need to mention how important it is to promote the best-qualified persons to the highest agency of state authority. They must persons of principle, persons who are profoundly convinced of the need for the revolutionary renovation of our society, people who will carry out the perestroyka not by appeals and slogans, but by their concrete actions. It is necessary to evaluate the candidates from all angles. Do they possess the political and business qualities needed for this purpose? Do they have a leaning toward state activity? It is necessary to make sure that the deputy corps includes representatives who are Communist and Komsomol members and nonparty members, workers, kolkhoz members, and intellectuals, who know how to reflect both the national and the nationwide interests, and who occupy clearly defined civic positions.

The election this time will not be similar to the previous ones. And it is not only because the election is being conducted on new principles, but also because there hs been a fundamental change in the political and ideological situation, and we ourselves have changed. The real competitiveness of the candidates has become part of the country's political life. According to the Law Governing Elections, the people at meetings can nominate an unlimited number of candidates. Everyone also has the right to nominate himself. The campaign must be carried out within the confines of socialist morality, on principles of respect for the honor and dignity of the candidates for election as deputies and of all the voters, and it must become a true school where people can learn the skills of democracy.

The central committees of the Communist Party of the union republics, the party's oblast, city, and rayon committees, and the primary party organizations have been called upon to do a lot to democratize the electoral process. It is necessary to take decisive steps to put an end to the work-detail system and to excessive organization, and it is necessary to listen carefully to people's opinions and moods, and to operate with the force of arguments and convictions. The experience of promoting candidates with alternative candidacies has shown that when the party organizations actively use democracy and operate openly, they gain by winning the people's support and by analyzing the resolving the vitally important questions. But attempt to over-organize the electoral process inevitably lead to stoppages.

The success of the forthcoming campaign, it was noted at the conference at CPSU Central Committee, will largely be predetermined by the content, depth, and activity rate of the ideological work carried out by the party organizations, which work will have to be carried out on a fundamentally new basis. This is not simply the explanation of various slogans, tasks, and appeals, or the popularization of various candidates, but, instead, ideological work in the full sense of that word, work that requires profound and serious, businesslike argumentation, conviction, heated and sometimes sharp discussions, and the comparing of opinions. What is required her is the mobilizing of our entire potential for agitation and propaganda, the mobilizing of our best forces.

The chief goal of ideological work is to deepen people's understanding of the policy of the CPSU, the significance of the economic and political reform that is being carried out, and the ideas of perestroyka, and to have that reform supported by all the workers. It is necessary to reject decisively the obsolete stereotypes and to bind more closely together the agitation and propaganda measures with the resolving of the vital problems of the day that are presented by the public. The criterion for all this work is the real practical matters, the steady movement along the path of perestroyka.

A major role in the common cause will have to be played by the mass information media, and especially the editorial offices of the city and rayon newspapers, and local television and radio broadcasting. It is important for their pages and their radio and television broadcasts to convey the pulse of life itself, and to illuminate broadly the entire course of the electoral campaign. It is necessary to give the floor to the candidates for election as deputies, to conduct debates, including those that are broadcast "live," and to provide answers to the workers' questions. In a word, we must do everything to assure that people are well acquainted with the person for whom they will be casting a vote.

Preparation for an election is a serious examination. The measures being carried out must promote the consolidation of all the forces of society in the fight for perestroyka and renovation. During this crucial period it is the duty of Communists to be in the vanguard, and by their personal example to confirm in people's mind the understanding that it is only by common efforts, by the highest performance at every work site, and with an innovative and responsible approach to the job in all sectors that it is possible to resolve the problems that have become vitally important in social development.

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*Electoral Commission's Work Viewed

WA1800336b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Dec 88 p 1

[Interview with Yu. I. Ryzhov, by TASS correspondent V. Saklakov, "especially for IZVESTIYA," in Moscow: "Deputy for Restructuring: Democratic Nature and Glasnost Are the Distinguishing Features of the New Election"]

[Text] **The campaign to elect USSR people's deputies is gathering momentum. It differs substantially from the preceding elections by the very practice of conducting the election, which practice stipulates at all stages the broad participation of the public, a democratic nature, and glasnost. In this regard a rather large number of questions arise in the voters' mind.**

Answers to these questions were provided in a conversation that a TASS correspondent had with Yu. I. Ryzhov, secretary of the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies.

Yuriy Ivanovich, could you please tell us what place is occupied by the current election campaign among the measures that are linked with the carrying out of the reform of the political system in conformity with the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference?

Yu. Ryzhov: The key place. The campaign will lay the foundations for the highest agencies of state power that are to be remodeled and that will have to resolve the very important tasks of restructuring. What the Congress of USSR People's Deputies will become, and how successfully the new USSR Supreme Soviet will execute its legislative, administrative, and control functions—all this depends in the final analysis on the makeup of the USSR people's deputies. We all have a self-interest in assuring that these are dynamic, well-principled people who know the moods, needs, and yearnings of the nation, who are capable of performing state work and of finding the reliable resolutions that correspond to the varied national and regional interests and the interests of society as a whole. We have a large number of such people, and all that is needed is to make the best selection.

It is very important, in the course of the election being carried out on a fundamentally new basis, to observe the democratic procedures that are stipulated by the Law

Governing Elections, so that the voters can feel that they are not observers, but rather that they are in charge of the campaign, and so that they can participate actively in all the pre-election measures.

At last year's election to the local soviets, and also when conducting the election of deputies to fill vacancies, many democratic elements were tested. These are, first of all, the discussion of several candidacies when nominating candidates for election as deputies, pre-election debates, and the inclusion in the ballot of a larger number of candidates than the number of mandates.

The election campaign has entered a critical stage—the candidates for election as deputies are being nominated. The district electoral commissions have to know ahead of time about the meetings to nominate candidates, and must send their representatives there if possible. And also, if necessary, to make suggestions to collectives for nominating candidates for election as deputies. As for meetings at people's place of residence, they are called by the appropriate soviets, jointly with the district electoral commissions. Thus the role of these, as well as the other electoral commissions is becoming extremely active. This also is an important democratic peculiarity of the new election.

What are the main differences in the work that has been extended, as compared with previous years? What organizational efforts are being taken to assure that the campaign proceeds successfully, and what is the role played here by the Central Electoral Commission?

Yu. Ryzhkov: The differences in the current election campaign are dictated by the Law Governing the Election of USSR People's Deputies. That law contains many innovations in fundamental questions, and less regulation in procedural questions. Among the fundamental questions I would include the introduction of the incompatibility of the status of USSR deputy with a definite job assignment; the nomination as candidates for election as deputies, as a rule, of those persons who reside on the corresponding territories; the granting of the right to the voters to nominate candidates at their place of residence; the introduction of the institution of district pre-election meetings; the possibility of including on the ballot any number of candidates; and also the determination of the results of the election on the basis of the number of persons who participated in the voting, rather than on the basis of the number of voters listed on the rolls.

If one speaks about procedural questions, they must be resolved within the confines of the law by the voters or electoral commissions themselves. For example, a meeting at which a candidate for election as deputy has been nominated determines itself how to conduct the voting—either openly or secretly—and establishes the voting procedure itself. Last year, during the election to the local soviets, I happened to be present at many such meetings. At some of them it was agreed upon that every participant in the meeting had the right to vote for only one candidacy. If none of the candidates got more than half the votes, there was a subsequent vote for the two candidates having the largest number of "aye" votes. At other meetings the voting proceeded in accordance with the multimandate system, with the preference being given to the person who got the largest number of votes. In many instances the leading candidacy was finally approved by a general open vote. All this is also applicable now. It is important for the will of the participants in the meeting to be respected.

I would especially like to mention the district pre-election meetings. They can play an important role in organizing the electoral process and in the best studying of the voters' opinion, because in any district there can appear a larger number of candidates. It is also to take into consideration the fact that the voting will be done simultaneously by territorial and national-territorial districts; the voters residing in the autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs will have three ballots in their hands simultaneously. It will be very difficult for the voter to form a personal opinion about each candidate. In those instances a district pre-election meeting may help. Its participants will become well acquainted with every candidate and his program, will listen to their comrades' opinion, and then will determine how many candidates, and specifically whom, they will recommend for registration to the district electoral commission.

A factor of fundamental importance is the makeup of the participants at that meeting. The makeup must be formed on an exclusively democratic basis. The corresponding mechanism has been defined by the Law Governing Elections. Each collective (meeting) that has nominated candidates for election as deputies must be represented at the district meeting by an equal number of representatives, in order to assure that no single candidate has any advantages in this regard. The voters in the corresponding district, who must constitute no less than half the participants of the meeting, must become the arbiter. These people are delegated by the labor collectives, meetings of voters at their place of residence, or meetings of servicemen in their military units, who have not participated in nominating the candidates for election as deputies and, consequently, are free of any obligations to them. The representation norms are defined by the district electoral commission with a consideration of the number of candidates nominated for election as deputies, and the available space.

For example, seven candidates have been nominated for the district and a suitable hall that accommodates 500 persons is available. In this instance the district commission can establish for the collectives that nominated candidates for election as deputies a norm of 30 persons, and the rest of the space can be offered to representatives of the electoral district. Obviously, it is also necessary to be concerned about insuring that some of the places are reserved for representatives of the mass information media. These meetings, in our opinion, should have broad light thrown upon them in the press and on television and radio.

There has been a substantial change in the role of the Central Electoral Commission in organizing the election. Now it not only monitors the legislation governing the election, but is also the judge in questions of dispute. The commission's work is of a businesslike nature. With every session, its members feel more free and more confident in their actions. Their periods of time on duty in the Central Electoral Commission have been established. The commission will have to work in its current makeup for five years. It will probably be necessary to think a bit about the appropriate document that regulates its activity, but first it will be necessary to accumulate sufficient experience.

Within a short period of time the commission has resolved a number of questions that are important for the entire electoral process. Territorial and national-territorial districts have been formed; the samples and blanks for the election documents have been considered and approved (the ballots, minutes, voter rolls, voter registration cards, registration cards for the nominee for election as a USSR people's deputy, for the candidate's authorized agent; and others); and the sequence and forms of communicating the progress of the electoral campaign have been established. Finally, questions of financing the election of the USSR people's deputies have been resolved. A total of 156 million rubles has been allocated for these purposes. It is difficult to say the extent to which this amount will cover all the expenses, since previously much was done at the expense of the enterprises and organizations. Incidentally, the nature of the campaign also used to be quite different.

How, on the whole, is the preparation for the election of USSR people's deputies from public organizations proceeding? What difficulties has the Central Electoral Commission encountered, and how are they being overcome?

Yu. Ryzhov: The election of deputies from public organizations is a completely new matter, that is completely unprecedented on this scale in world practice. Of course, however, we view each step from the point of view of democratism. It can already be seen that this election is winning in glasnost. Whereas the information for the districts is known only to the district voters, the course of the election in public organizations is becoming known to the entire country.

The collection of recommendations concerning possible candidates for election as USSR people's deputies is being carried out on a democratic basis. The CPSU Central Committee, for example, has been receiving thousands of letters, telegrams, and excerpts from decisions made by party meetings in support of various figures who are known in the party and in the country. The candidacies of local comrades are being actively discussed at party organizations. Essentially speaking, we have encountered a new phenomenon—broad public consultations, which will help to recommend worthy candidacies for discussion at the plenums of public organizations.

The Central Electoral Commission has conducted meetings with representatives of public organizations and has distributed mandates in a spirit of consent. They were received by 38 organizations that unite and attract to the election more than 100 different societies and associations.

The Central Electoral Commission has considered the requests from the movement of environmental-protection druzhinas, the Rossiya Association of Cooperative Members, and the Interregional Cooperative Federation concerning the allocation of mandates to them, but did not find it possible to satisfy them, inasmuch as those organizations do not conform completely to the requirements of the law, which states that nationwide organizations that were created in the established procedure and that have nationwide agencies are allowed to participate in the election. Possibly there may be people who will accuse the commission of formalism, but it is obliged to follow the letter of the law strictly.

Making this decision on the basis of the findings of USSR Ministry of Justice, the Central Electoral Commission recommended to that ministry that, jointly with other departments and scientific institutions, it accelerate the work of preparing a nationwide normative act that defines the basic rights and duties of volunteer societies and public-initiative agencies of the public.

I must say that in the course of the election campaign it will be necessary to untie a rather large number of knots. I would like to count at such time on the advice and well-wishing attitude on the part of everyone who has a self-interest in the success of the election. This is a job for everyone.

Restricting Candidates Questioned

PM1301155189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[M. Kushtapin report under rubric "Elections of USSR People's Deputies": "Five Mandates—Five Contenders"]

[Text] A joint session of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries Council and the "Rodina" Society Council was held in Moscow on 11 January. A total of 45 possible candidates for USSR people's deputies were proposed by members of these organizations. But, after a long discussion, the presidiums of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the "Rodina" Society recommended that the session participants include only five of the 45 contenders on the list of candidates.

Why five? The logic is probably this: That is precisely the number of deputy mandates allocated. People called rejoinders from the hall:

"But what about alternative elections?"

"What is the point of meeting to vote, if we have to elect five deputies from five candidates?"

"I suggest that we supplement the proposed list with a few more nominations so that there are at least 6-8 candidates or, even better, 10."

I must admit that I now expected the presidiums' recommendation to be rejected. But no! V.V. Tereshkova, chairing the joint session, put the matter to the vote. The overwhelming majority supported the proposal to limit the list to five names. As you can see, the presidiums did not impose their opinion by giving directives; they put the issue to the vote, and they upheld their proposal by democratic means. But some people present were still dissatisfied with this course of events. Their expectations that there should be more candidates than mandates had not been justified. Who was to blame for this? The leading bodies of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the "Rodina" Society?...

It must be pointed out that not one of the proposed candidates is questionable. All the candidates are well known, worthy people: V.V. Tereshkova, chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries Presidium; A.S. Yeliseyev, chairman of the "Rodina" Society Presidium and rector of the N. Bauman Moscow Higher Technical School; A.A. Tupolev, general designer; V.M. Falin, head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and K.V. Frolov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. No voter will reject deputies like these. I feel, nevertheless, that on 21 March, when there is going to be an extended joint session of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries Council and the "Rodina" Society Council on the election of USSR People's Deputies, the absence of alternative candidates on the ballot paper will hardly be conducive to a sense of freedom for the expression of the voters' will. Our desire to really choose—even if there is a unanimous vote for la creme de la creme—is now too great.

*Cost of Election Campaign Eyed

WA18000336a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by V. Khatuntsev, under rubric "Preparing for the Election": "What Does It Cost to Elect a Deputy?"]

[Text] For some reason we do not think often about how much it costs to execute the state authority in all its manifestations, large and small. What do you think it costs, for example, to rename a city or a rayon, when it is necessary to change hundreds of signs on enterprises and institutions, to make new seals, and to change the format of various blank forms? It is no inexpensive action. The treasury has a tremendous amount of similar expenditures. Well, then, what about such a nationwide campaign as the election of the USSR people's deputies, which is scheduled for 26 March 1989? What kind of financial support does it require? What will the funds be expended on? And, in general, what is the material aspect of the situation that is seen?

I will say outright that the amount of money that has been allocated for the election campaign is considerably more than the amount available in the past election to USSR Supreme Soviet in 1984. Because the scope has grown: instead of 1500 deputies, it will be necessary to elect 2250. And there will be an even larger number of candidates for election as deputies. Where are these funds to come from?

"Take a look at Article 12 of the Law Governing the Election of USSR People's Deputies," P. Tekhneryadnov, manager of the financial service of the Central Electoral Commission, and sector chief at the Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet, says. "It is stated there that the expenses linked with the preparation for and the carrying out of the election are charged to the government."

"But that didn't use to be so, did it?"

"Yes, budgetary funds were also used previously. However, some of the expenditures were assumed by the party agencies, enterprises, and organizations. At the present time, however, when cost accountability is in its growth stage, every kopeck must be accounted for among the labor collectives. Therefore the funds have been released from the state budget."

"How much money?"

"156,470,000 rubles."

The Central Electoral Commission approved the expense estimate. The funds have been distributed to the union republics, and, in turn, the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of the republics will have to subdivide those funds among all the district electoral commissions. Understandably, the share that each republic will receive is different, because consideration has been taken both of the size of the population and the size of the territories. The local financial agencies that are acting in the role of creditors have been called upon to monitor the execution of the estimate schedules. So it is only at first glance that it appears that this is a lot of money. There are also plenty of expenditures.

The lion's share of the funds is intended for printing costs. It will be necessary to print tens of millions of ballots, various posters, and leaflets giving the biographies of the candidates for election as people's deputies. Specialists beforehand computed the average norms for the expenses of the district and ward commissions and were convinced that the printing costs would definitely not be cheap. And this is when the Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet, since the summer of 1988, has assumed the expenses for providing the paper.

What other expenditures are planned? The expenditures for wages. In the current election campaign the following procedure is stipulated for representation in the electoral commissions: one of the members of the ward commission is released from work for a month. And the district commission has been given the right to release one of its members for three months. But their wages must be preserved.

An unusual election campaign awaits us. And the competitiveness among the candidates, and the voters' right to decide whose program is more realistic and more effective, will become the first swallow in the reform of the electoral system. The secrecy of the casting of one's ballot must be guaranteed not simply declaratively, but also organizationally. Voting booths are needed. Otherwise we would have the situation that used to prevail: pick up a ballot, and "Forward march!" one step forward to the ballot box before you have time even to read the name of the person you are voting for. That is why considerable funds have been stipulated to manufacture the voting booths, ballot boxes, and other equipment. And if one considers that there will be 178,752 electoral wards, it is already time to place the work orders in the outlying areas.

Understandably, tens of thousands of activists will be involved in carrying out the election campaign, and they might like to know what the ward electoral commission can count on. The approach here is differentiated, because the wards are not all the same size, and therefore one will require more funds, and another will require fewer funds. The norm ceiling is 600 rubles. This would seem to be completely sufficient, because, as for the allocation of space and equipment, according to the law they must be provided by the enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and the state and public agencies. But the transportation, office, and other technical expenses will have to be paid from the commission's pocket.

Incidentally, it is also time to mention the support provided to the candidates for election as people's deputies. From reports in the foreign press and in our own, we have heard quite a number of things about the fabulous amounts of money needed to participate in the election struggle in the West. If you don't have money, then don't begin the election marathon! But in our campaign, as is stipulated by the Law, the candidates for election as people's deputies and the voters do not incur any expenses. Is it possible that there should be no expenses at all? All that has to be done is to print the biographical sketches and photographs of the candidates, and that is all the advertising. However, the democratic content of the spring election requires the most active participation of the candidates in preparing the public opinion in their favor. Candidates can no longer sit things out in the presidiums of decorous meetings. They have to travel around the district, have to meet face to face with the people and defend their platform, and to penetrate into the needs of people in the outlying areas. In general, they have to agitate. And if any one of the urban nominees can limit himself to trip tickets, for candidates in the northern and Siberian regions, where the electoral districts are a bit larger than the other southern oblasts, the travel expenses will be rather considerable.

Well, then, funds have been allocated for this purpose. The candidates for election as deputies, after registration, are released from work for one month, are compensated for their average wages, and are also paid for their trips around the districts. The entire amount of more than 2 million rubles for these expenses has been planned for approximately 4000 candidates. You can imagine what this means: no less than two per district. But what if suddenly, somewhere, the limits are insufficient? In that eventuality the Central Electoral Commission has reserve funds.

Incidentally, the Central Electoral Commission also operates in accordance with an estimate, which is something we somehow did not have to think about in the era before **glasnost**. However, the principle of "you have to pay for everything" extends to all the highest institutions. For example, for renting the House of Unions, the commission is paying its owner—the AUCCTU—206,000 rubles...

The election campaign and the election itself, without a doubt, will become a tremendous event in **perestroyka**. The authority of the country's highest agency of power will depend on the persons elected by the people. That is why the very procedure, the details, and the particulars of the campaign are at least as important as the competition among the candidates or the voters' mandates. Because these considerable amounts of money allocated to carry out this very important act in our life are not simply the government's money, but the people's.

More on Council of Ministers 14 Jan Session

Maslyukov Speech

LD1401153989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Excerpts] In Moscow an expanded meeting of the USSR Council of Ministers is being held today. It has analyzed the results of the past year and of the 3 years of the 5-year plan period. The second question on the agenda is providing the population with fruit and vegetables.

Introducing the discussion on the first question, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, called the attention of those assembled to the main problems of our economy. [passage omitted]

Then a report on the results of the work of the country's national economy in the past year and the 3 years of the 5-year plan period was delivered by Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee.

[Begin Maslyukov recording] What are the most important overall indicators for the country's development over these 3 years? The average annual growth rate in social labor productivity was 3.8 percent—it was 3.1 in the 11th 5- year plan. Labor productivity became for the first time a decisive factor in the growth of national income and production by the branches of the national economy. Industrial output rose by an annual average of 4.2 percent—by 3.7 percent in the previous 5-year plan. Agricultural output increased each year by 2.9 percent, whereas it was 1 percent in the previous 5-year plan. Real incomes per head of population rose by an annual average of 2.7 percent—by 2.1 percent in the previous 5-year plan.

[Maslyukov] A certain dynamism in the development of the national economy does exist. However, higher results were achieved in 1988 for the most important final indicators. This applies to produced national income—4.4 percent; to real incomes per head of population—3.5 percent; and to productivity of social labor—5.1 percent. The development of the national economy proceeded at the same time as a structural restructuring of social production, a new quality of economic growth, and the implementation of additional measures to intensify the social orientation of the economy under the influence of the economic reform.

The switching of the economy onto the party of intensive development, which has taken shape since the start of the 5-year plan, became a steady process. The whole increase in produced national income, industrial and agricultural output, construction and assembly work and the volume of goods transported by railway was obtained increased labor productivity. In attaining the volume of production of output and work on the scale envisaged by the 5-year plan, the number of workers and office staff engaged in material production in 1988 declined by more than 1 million.

The process of developing cooperative forms of management and also private labor activity was stepped up. In 1988, output worth more than R4 billion was produced by cooperatives. Production efficiency is increasing. As a result of intensification of attention paid to saving resources and other measures for thrifty management, higher rates of reduction of the prime costs of output were attained in industry. From 1981 through 1985, outlay per ruble of output declined by an annual average of 0.3 percent, and by 0.8 percent in 1986 through 1988. In 1985 total economies amounted to R2 billion, but more than R5 billion in 1988.

A growth in profit of 26 percent is expected in the national economy as a whole in the 3 years of the 12th 5-Year Plan. Great work was also fulfilled during the 3 years of the current 5-Year Plan in the produciton of consumer goods and services provided to the population. Rates and a scale of growth significantly higher than in preceding years were attained.

Thus, during 1988 goods worth R344 billion were produced, that is 5.1 percent more than in 1987.

The structure of retail goods turnover has visibly improved. I would like to remind you that the share of alcoholic beverages in the volume of goods production fell from 14.3 percent in 1985 to 11.2 percent in 1988. At the same time the working people's wardrobe has been supplemented, the provision of consumer goods has grown, and the issue of the provision of timber and building materials for the population has begun to be solved. The development of the field of chargeable services has speeded up significantly. Their comparable volume over a year increased by 11.2 percent.

The positive results of work for 1986-89, which I have quoted, allow us to make a very important conclusion: the economic methods of management that are being introduced in place of the traditional administrative methods are ensuring the development of the national economy in the directions corresponding to the principles of restructuring. This is already a fact.

But I should say right away that the results yielded by the new methods are still insufficient. And this is what I would like to dwell on in my report.

In spite of some intensification of work on resource savings, their level still lags behind the tasks of the 5-year plan. The reduction in the national income share for metal consumption came to 5.9 percent, against the set figure of 7.6; power consumption—4 percent against the set figure of 5.7 percent. In total the social product share for materials consumption decreased by 1.2 percent instead of the planned 2.2 percent. The national economy is maintaining the rates of development of material production envisaged in the 5-year plan but resources are being processed in greater quantities than had been envisaged. Consequently, the fuels and raw materials sectors have to work more intensively than was provided for in the 5-year plan.

I will cite the following figures: in 1986-88 approximately 51.6 million tonnes of coal, more than 40 billion cubic meters of gas and 10.6 million tonnes of oil and gas condensate were extracted above the 5-year plan. This violation of a major ratio of the 5-year plan burdens the economy since the share of capital investments in the fuel and power complex, for example, is constantly growing. In 1986 this was R15.1 for every tonne of standard fuel, while in 1988 it was 16.4 tonnes. The more we produce of fuel and raw material commodities the more the national income losses.

The reduction of the share of fuels and raw materials sectors, first and foremost in ferrous metallurgy, has not taken place. Because of the low technical level of equipment, violation of the operating regulations for installations and shortcomings in establishing norms for work organization the national economy, approximately 6 million tonnes of standard fuel—which corresponds to 5 days of coal extraction—is overconsumed every year.

The greatest losses have been revealed at the Minugleprom [Ministry of the Coal Industry], Minudobreniy [Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production], Mintyazhmash [Ministry of Heavy Transport and Machine Building], the Ministry of Railways of the USSR, Minkhimprom [Ministry of the Chemical Industry], and the Gosagroprom. At present only about 25 percent of reheating furnaces and 15 percent of heat treatment furnaces in the machine building industry are equipped with recuperators.

The tasks for manufacturing energy saving equipment and the introduction of energy saving measures ratified in decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers on 23 May 1986, numbered 608, are not being carried out satisfactorily.

Second, a major direction of the 5-year plan period is the measures designed to technically modernize and reconstruct existing production. In the 11th 5-Year Plan period the depreciation of production funds increased from 33 percent at the end of 1980 to 38 percent at the end of 1985. So as to overcome these negative tendencies in the 12th 5-Year Plan period a number of fundamental measures has been envisaged: the average annual increases of capital investment for technical modernization have been augmented, the structure of industrial production is being changed in favor of machine- building and the rights of labor collectives in the development of production capacities and in the provision of modernization work to the maximum extent thanks to enterprises' own resources have been extended. However, these measures have not been coordinated and their general effect is low.

The results of the 3 years of the 5-Year Plan period show a great disruption in the fulfillment of the plans for increasing production capacities at existing enterprises through their technical modernization. Thus, it was planned that, for such major types of output as heavy electrical machines, 2,500 units would be made in the first 3 years of the 5-year plan. In fact it proved possible to make 1,400. As regards turbine generators, instead of 3,650 units there were 1,200; as regards chemical machinery instead of R86 million, the figure was R70 million; as regards metal-working machine tools, instead of 7,300 units there were 6,700 units. This increment was supposed to have been secured, let me remind you, thanks to technical modernization. As regards roller-contact bearings, instead of 36 million units the increment came to 20 million. As regards mineral fertilizer, instead of 2.5 million tonnes there were 1.4 million tonnes; and as regards knitwear goods, instead of 122 million units there were only 86 million.

In 1986-88 substantial work was done on the mothballing or the temporary suspension of construction work—this is 20,000 enterprises in our country at present. However, ministries and departments of the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics and enterprises, in accordance with the rights they have been granted, included in the 1988 plan more than 4,000 production sector construction projects which were being started up again. Compared to 1987, the number of such building projects increased by 4.1 percent. The tendency for growth in the estimated value of construction work remains at a level of up to 10 percent per annum.

The fuel and energy, machine-building and the chemical and timber complexes have brought the biggest contribution of almost R2 billion into this process. But at the same time, the machine-building complex alone did not assimilate more than R2 billion of capital investments. Basic production capacities worth more than R3 billion were not put into operation. In the 3 years the shortfall in the delivery of machine building production on concluded contracts alone was more than R6 billion.

As before, under the guise of the latest equipment, inadequate goods inferior to the best world achievements are being made. Of 170 brands of machinery, equipment, and instruments inspected by the USSR People's Control Committee, 40 of them—or 24 percent—did not correspond to this standard.

So, how can the situation in the technical reequipment of national economy be improved? As before, improvement of machine-building remains the strategic primary task of our economic mechanism. I am able to report to those who gathered here that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on 27 December last year examined this question in detail and instructed, as before, to give preference in development and to retain the priority in the development of the machine-building complex. And here, the measures ensuring the fulfillment of this instruction must be drafted in the first 6 months of this year.

Comrades! The innovation of the articles produced has been slightly accelerated in 1988. In 1988 in machine building it consisted of 11.4 percent, compared with the planned 9.2 percent. Around 75 percent of the increase of industrial production was received in 3 years thanks to the reconstruction and technical reequipment of existing enterprises. This means that the basic structural policy of the 5-year plan is, in fact, being implemented. The industrial output increase on the whole for the 3 years was 13.3 percent and the machine building output has grown by 18 percent. At the same time, certain positive phenomena developing in the work of individual complexes and in the economy of a number of union republics are, so far, exerting insufficient influence on the end result of the national economy as a whole.

In the past year, we have had success in consolidating the priority development of group B of industry in comparison with group A; this was achieved for the first time in 1987. The production rate of group B was 5 percent, compared with 3.5 percent in group A. And for 1989, I recall, it is 7 percent compared to 2.5 percent. The raising of the growth rate of group B in 1987 and 1988 ensured the increase in the output of nonfood consumer goods: color television sets, cassette players, refrigerators, washing machines, furniture, sewn goods, and the increase in the sale to the public of timber and construction materials. Light industry, which was implementing in 1986 and 1987 changes in the range of production output, had practically no growth of production and in 1988 started to intensively increase production. Thus, the production growth rate of the ministry of light industry in 1986-1987 was 3.1 percent in comparable prices and in 1988 it was 4.3 percent. The fulfilment of contractual obligations has also been improved. If more than R12 billion worth of production was underdelivered in 1987, then in 1988 it was R8.6 billion worth.

Enterprises of the fuel and energy and metallurgical complexes operated most stably. Industrial enterprises operating in conditions of full financial autonomy and self-financing secured a higher increase for all performance indicators than the enterprises of other ministries. At the same time there has been no major breakthrough in the work of the industrial ministries and the enterprises, associations, and organizations under them. Thus, practically all the ministries of the machine building complex and the complex as a whole have been permitted to lag behind the 5-year plan tasks regarding most key indicators.

In the period 1986-88 the plan tasks in respect of these indicators for scientific and technological progress were fulfilled for the complex as a whole at a level of 82-86 percent. Out of the 1,700 models of new types of technological equipment that were created for the complex in 1987, only seven percent exceeded the best world levels. Included in this is the fact that the proportion at the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems was five percent and the proportion at the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry was only two percent. Moreover, out of the 23 types of automatic and semiautomatic lines for machine building and metal working, 37 types of forging and pressing equipment, and 17 types of foundry casting equipment, which were created at the latter ministry in 1987, not a single item, in respect of its overall technical characteristics, exceed world standards. There has not been a significant improvement in the quality of output being produced. The rate of increase in the overall volume of output envisaged in the 5-year plan has not been secured for the complex. The rate of increase of output at the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry in the period 1986-88 is lower than that for machine-building as a whole, while the 5-year plan envisaged a 40 percent higher rate.

The plan for supplying the key types of machines and equipment is being fulfilled particularly unsatisfactorily. Thus, in 1986 the proportion of the range of key equipment (?accounted for in the statistics) for which the plan was not fulfilled amounted for the complex as a whole to 55 percent, and in 1988 the figure was already 77 percent. This is the greatest problem that threatens us with lagging behind in 1989 and 1990.

Comrades, I have already mentioned that you have been presented with a report which reflects in a very detailed way all the shortcomings and criticisms that exist, but I would nevertheless like to dwell a little on the state of construction in view of the importance of this industry. In investment policy those large-scale changes which are now being implemented and which are directed at strengthening the social sphere have been reflected in a major redistribution of capital investments. In the period 1986-88 state capital investments in the development of the nonproduction sphere have been increased by R19 billion, or by 18.8 percent, as against the 5-year plan.

At the same time the proportion of capital investments channeled into the development of the social sphere in total for the national economy over the past 3 years amounted to 23.1 percent, as against 19.2 percent according to the 5-year plan-period. In the past 3 years housing conditions have been improved for 10 million families, that is 33 million people.

The existing economic mechanism in building is not functioning in respect of removing the shortcomings which have already become chronic in capital construction. This manifests itself in a concentrated way in the failure to put into operation production capacities and projects and in the increased amount of plant which has not been completed.

The indicators of the past 3 years of the 5-year plan-period show that the course toward the social reorientation of the economy is being achieved in the national economy.

Major projects in the social and cultural sphere have been handed over for use in the 1986-88 period ahead of schedule, compared with the 5-year plan. This is in line with the tasks of the party and government for the development of the material base of the social and cultural sphere.

From all sources, dwelling houses have been built with a total area of 381 million square meters. The average annual handing over for occupancy of dwelling houses increased by 16.5 percent, compared with the corresponding period of the 11th 5-Year Plan period, with the increase of those built from funds provided by housing construction cooperative societies being 31 percent. However, a drop has been allowed to occur in the builders' work on the accelerated development of the social sphere in 1988. Compared with 1987, 2 million square meters less dwelling houses were built. The handing over for use of children's preschool institutions has decreased. This is a very dangerous symptom.

In addition, the increased strain in satisfying the population's cash-backed demand cannot fail to cause alarm. The range of goods in short supply is widening, prices are rising. The differentiation in the level of incomes of individual social groups and sections of the population is becoming more pronounced.

Between 1987 and 1988, the population's monetary incomes rose by 8.5 percent compared with the 4.2 percent planned. The above-plan growth of the population's monetary incomes arose on the whole through a considerable overexpenditure of the wages fund: R12 billion. There was a steep increase in the loans granted by the banks to the population for personal housing construction: R2.6 billion.

The past 3 years of the 5-year plan period are characterized by a substantial gap between the demand and the supply of goods, which has given rise to serious tension on the country's goods market. The population's unsatisfied demand for consumer goods and services amounted to some R60 billion each year. Against the plan, retail trade under- received goods worth R40 billion in the past 3 years. This gave rise to the retail trade's goods reserves being intensively marketed. By 1 January 1989 the volume of those reserves had decreased by R15.9 billion, compared with the start of 1986. This is 16 percent.

The problem of supplying the population with foodstuffs has become more acute. In the period that has elapsed R4.3 billion worth of foodstuffs less than the plan has reached the retail trade, and including in 1988 R2.1 billion worth. The shortage of state resources of foodstuffs is reflected in the prices of the collective farm market. In 1988, as compared with 1985, they rose by 8 percent. [end recording]

After Comrade Maslyukov and Finance Minister Gostev delivered their reports the debates began. [passage omitted]

Food Supply Debate

LD1701140189 [Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1845 GMT on 16 January in its "Restructuring Spotlight" program presented by Valeriy Golubev carries a 15 minute report on debates conducted by the USSR Council of Ministers on 14 January concerning the food supply problem.

Introducing recorded excerpts of the debate, Golubev, in the studio, says that over the last few days, there have been many reports on the problems in the supply of fruits and vegetables to the population. Golubev describes the depressing situation with the cultivation and consumption of many vital crops and states that not a single Union republic, with the exception of Armenia, has fulfilled the production quotas as stipulated in the food program, and Golubec cites figures to demonstrate the poor performance. Golubec states that "procurement, storage, processing, and trade are in a most neglected state. Participants in the USSR Council of Ministers session, which took place on 14 January, had yet another opportunity to see that at a photographic exhibition. It shows vividly the obsolete mechanism of procurement that developed during the period of stagnation."

The report then moves on to a video recording of excerpts of the Council of Ministers debates with off-screen comments by Golubev.

"[Ryzhkov] We feel that the people are utterly unhappy with the situation that has come about and it seems we have to work out serious measures.

"[Golubev] Murakhovskiy, chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, focused his attention on the procurement and marketing of vegetables. To avoid losses here we must replenish our diet noticeably and quickly."

"[Murakhovskiy] In my view, to seriously tackle the issues of the development of vegetable and fruit growing, we need to remove, to a degree, the price limits that exist today. We ought to develop flexible and free prices which would allow lessees and those cooperatives that have taken it upon themselves to supply shops to adjust the prices of fruits and vegetables within a day, depending on the quality and the season.

"[Ryzhkov] You have touched upon the issue of prices. Tell us, please, who has the right today to sell fruit and vegetable products at contractual prices, and who has not?

"[Murakhovskiy] Kolkhozes and soukhozes today have the right to sell up to 30 percent of their plan and above-plan products at contractual prices, but, in practice, as you heard at the conference yesterday, Nikolay Ivanovich, from the comrades who spoke, local organs of power issue instructions for the use of vegetables and, in fact, they do not let them use that 30 percent for marketing.

"[Ryzhkov] Let us assume there are three systems of supplying vegetables and fruit to the population. They include state trade, consumer cooperation, including the 30 percent of your agro-industrial complex, and the market.

"[Murakhovskiy] Yes, the market.

"[Ryzhkov] The prices are absolutely...strongly fluctuating, up to five times, according to data reported here. From the point of view of quality, does it correspond to the fluctuation in prices or not?

"[Murakhovskiy] Yes, it does. Why do people buy at markets potatoes which are four times more expensive than in shops? Because they find choice potatoes there, they buy it and know that it is a potato.

"[Ryzhkov] But there are two reasons there: either shortage—the shop simply does not have the product and therefore the buyer goes to the market—or, indeed, the increased price at the market corresponds to the consumer appeal for the product. Could you please explain this to us?

"[Murakhovskiy] Nikolay Ivanovich, I think that, of course, these are the two fundamental factors. If there is no trade going on in the shops, then the market is simply dictating its price. If the shops sell potatoes but their quality is inferior to that of potatoes on the market, then the price on the market rises accordingly.

"[Ryzhkov] So is it still the shortage that dictates the prices or the quality?

"[Murakhovskiy] The quality.

"[Ryzhkov] The quality.

"[Murakhovskiy] Nikolay Ivanovich, just look: we procure potatoes in September and we will be selling them at 10-12 kopecks until January and spring. Is this right or wrong? I think it is wrong. If we said to our trade organizations in charge of storage: sell them at 10-12 kopecks in September, at 20 kopecks in January, and at 30 kopecks in March, then farms would start storing them properly. But now not a single farm wants to store them in their facilities. They delivered their products in September and do not want to know anything more about it. And then there are production and maintenance costs; potatoes will be rotting. So a price should be set which would make it profitable for the farm to store them.

"[Ryzhkov] All right, one need not be too wise to set a price, as the saying goes. But will they be selling the products of the same quality as people sell on the market, or will they, after 2 months, start dictating that they will be selling at 30 kopecks, take it or leave it?

"[Murakhovskiy] Nikolay Ivanovich, I think, for instance, that, of course, deviations, even negative, from this norm may happen in every case. We in Moscow have transferred a certain number of shops to a lease basis and given them freedom to set prices, up to a certain limit. Of these shops, 30 percent work very well, but we have also seen shops where they immediately set the highest price, regardless of the quality. This is hooliganism! So they were forced to act and such rights were withdrawn from them."

"[Golubev] Yes, today prices do not play the role of regulating supply and demand of the country's vegetable market."

"[V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet] The draft does not reflect the pricing policy in a clear-cut manner, therefore, the requirements not only for the quantity of vegetables themselves but the requirements for their range and quality over the whole year are uniform. [as heard] We had great difficulties, Nikolay Ivanovich, in spring and summer when we had to cope with huge deliveries of early cabbage, all of it at the same time, when we received more squash than expected, and when we failed to market those products. In other words, we need a system, from the field to the shop."

"[Ryzhkov] All right, what kind of system if you have to face mass deliveries of, say, cabbage? This means there are no long-term contracts with those comrades from republics.

"[Saykin] There is a system of contracts, and by and large we conclude them, but this system is not being complied with today, it is not being complied either in terms of uniform deliveries or in terms of the quality of products. Therefore, some new economic levers are required.

"[Ryzhkov] We have been discussing this system already since the summer, last summer, when Moscow was yet again having difficulties with fruit and vegetables. We spoke with you then: Of course, the Agroprom must set some sort of definite quotas, respectively, but there must be a system of working. But it looks like there is no system. Right?"

"[Golubev] There are no flexible prices, there is neither a system nor the desire of farms to cultivate crops. This was stated unequivocally by Shtepo, general director of the Volga-Don Association."

"[Shtepo] Take, for example, the vegetables that are being sent to Moscow. I do not mention the issue of prices. There are such wise men in Moscow, I do not know—you just try to come here and they will strip you of all you have got. Over the last 2 years, we have been losing R500,000 yearly on our deliveries of tomatoes to Moscow.

"[Ryzhkov] What amount of your products have you been sending to Moscow, what percentage?

"[Shtepo] We have dispatched nearly 5,000 tonnes to Moscow...5,000 altogether and of them in Moscow....

"[Ryzhkov] What percentage?

"[Shtepo] Percentage? In terms of percentage, we dispatch 60 or 70 percent of tomatoes.

"[Ryzhkov] Have you been dispatching your products to nobody in specific, or to Richin, Ivanov, and so on?

"[Shtepo] Nikolay Ivanovich, we have already become like those soldiers, we have been given assignments for everything. We sent them where we were told."

The floor is then taken by Gaylitis, director of the Riga sovkhoz, who says that it is easier to grow crops than to sell them. Contracting with shops, he says, should be introduced as the only solution.

The program ends with an excerpt from Ryzhkov's concluding speech at the 14 January Council of Ministers session.

Armenian Central Committee Plenum Names Officials

NC1801134389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] The 13th plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party was held yesterday. Heads of departments of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and first secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms who are not members of the Central Committee or the Auditing Commission of the Armenian Communist Party were invited to attend.

The plenum examined the question of reorganizing the structure of the apparatus of the republic's various committees and the tasks for perfecting party leadership. A report on this question was delivered by Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

The new structure of the apparatus of the republic's party committees has been worked out with consideration having been given to the [words indistinct] proposals that have been received. The (?number) of responsible workers of the Central Committee is being reduced by 30 percent and there will be eight departments instead of 17: party organizational and cadre work, ideological, socioeconomic, agrarian, state, legal, general, and administration of affairs.

(?In order to institute) control over the Auditing Commission, the Commission of Party Control attached to the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party is being retained. It is deemed expedient to form six commissions of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party: on questions relating to party organizational and cadre work, on ideological issues, on questions relating to socioeconomic development, on agrarian policy, on state labor policy, and on questions relating to interethnic relations.

The plenum (?approved) the (?basic) composition of the commissions of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party.

The plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee also examined organizational questions.

The plenum released Kochetkov from his duties as second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, in accordance with (?an order) from the CPSU Central Committee; Gambaryan was released from his duties as secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, in view of his retirement; Sarkisyan was released from his duties as member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, in view of his retirement; and Yuzbashyan was released from his duties as candidate member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, in view of his transfer to other work.

By secret ballot the plenum elected Globov as member of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, as second secretary, and as member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. By secret ballot the plenum elected (?Zabovyan) as member of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, secretary, and member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party.

The plenum elected Markaryants, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, as member of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communuinist Party and member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. The plenum elected (?Badamyants) as chairman of the KGB of the Armenian SSR, member of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, and candidate member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. The plenum confirmed the heads of departments of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party: party organizational and cadre work, Akopyan; ideological work, (?Asatryan); socioeconomic department, Arutyunyan; agrarian department, (?Grigoryan); and general department, [name indistinct]. [Words indistinct] has been confirmed as head of [words indistinct].

With this, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party concluded its work. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and minister of defense of the USSR, took part in the plenum.

PRAVDA Reports Plenum

PM1801103589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Yerevan, 17 Jan—An Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held in the republic's capital today.

N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, took part in its work.

It examined the question of reorganizing the structure of the apparatus of the republic's party committees and the tasks of improving the party leadership that arise from this. A speech by S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, pointed out that the new structure for the apparatus of the republic's party committees has been elaborated in the light of constructive proposals from the localities. The number of senior Central Committee personnel is to be reduced by 30 percent; and there will be 8 departments instead of 17. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Party Control Committee is to be retained until the creation of a control and auditing commission.

It was deemed advisable to form six Armenian Communist Party Central Committee commissions on questions of: party organization and cadre work, ideology, questions of soecioeconomic development, agrarian policy, state-legal policy, and questions of interethnic relations. The commissions' personnel were ratified.

The plenum examined organizational questions. Yu.P. Kochetkov was relieved of his duties as second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his transfer to other work. O.I. Lobov was elected second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum relieved F.T. Sarkisyan of his duties as member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in connection with his retirement on pension. V.S. Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, was elected a member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

New Chairman of Armenian Council of Ministers

NC1701190389 Yerevan International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR has decided to remove Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, from his post upon the request he submitted that he be retired. Vladimir Markaryan has been appointed as the new chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

Vladimir Markaryan, an Armenian, was born in 1934 in the city of (Yaist) in (Grasadar) District. He graduated from the Higher Agricultural Institute in Stavropol and from the Higher Party School of the CPSU Central Committee. Vladimar Markaryan worked as a laborer at a car repair factory before being promoted to chief of one of the factory's branches. He later became the factory's director. Markaryan also worked in various party and government organizations. Prior to becoming the chairman of the Council of Ministers in Armenia, Vladimir Markaryan was deputy minister of the Medical Needs Industry in the Soviet Union.

Further on Ryzhkov, Commission Visit to Armenia

Ryshkov Addresses Party, Aktiv

LD1701221589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1943 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan, 17 Jan (TASS)—A meeting of the Armenian party and economic aktiv, which discussed tasks on the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on measures to eliminate the aftermath of the earthquake, took place here today.

Taking part in the work of the conference were Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is heading the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission, members of the commission, heads of a number of ministries and departments, and members of the Armenian Communist Party Central committee.

The participants in the meeting stood in memory of all those who died as a result of the natural disaster.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the republican Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report. It is hard to say, he stated, what sort of situation the republic would be in now if, since that fateful day of 7 December the creative potential of the unity, cohesion, and fraternity of the Soviet people had not been demonstrated. The effective internationalism of the Soviet people was a decisive factor in countering the disaster.

Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the Armenian people on the day of the disaster was of immense signficance in the extremely complex situation which had arisen for the mobilization of forces and resources and for the shaping of a spiritual atmosphere and public opinion in the republic, in the country, and throughout the world. His cutting short his foreign tour, his arrival in the disaster area, and his on-the-spot decision-making and practical measures to render urgent and all-round assistance to the republic had a great political and moral-psychological impact, imbued people with optimism, and gave them confidence in the speediest elimination of the aftermath of the disaster.

The activity of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission has been an exceptionally important mobilizing factor.

We are addressing words of heartfelt gratitude to all the people in our country and abroad, to all those who have contributed to overcoming the consequences of the terrible disaster, the speaker continued.

Right from the very first minutes the Communists of Armenia led the work being done by the working people in the republic to get out of the tragic situation.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo has acknowledged it as necessary to speed up the second stage of the work, the main purpose of which is to ensure restoration of the social and economic potential of the entire stricken region in the next 2 years.

The great assistance of the CPSU Central Committee, the government, the fraternal union republics, the USSR ministries and departments, and the labor collectives who have rendered us incalculable support in these extremely difficult days not only does not relieve the republic of responsibility, but, on the contrary, obliges us to work with redoubled energy.

The towns of Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak, Stepanavan, Alaverdi, Artik, and Dilizhan; the settlement of Maralik; and the rayon centers of Amasiya, Akhuryan, Gukasyan, and Gugark will be restored by the efforts of the union republics and the labor collectives of Moscow and Leningrad. Housing with an overall area of 4 million square meters will be built for them as part of a complex with all social and cultural facilities and cultural and everyday services.

The natural disaster befell the republic at a time when an acute situation had taken shape in connection with the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. The many months of crisis surrounding this problem, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia said, brought both the republics to a dead end. The two neighboring peoples found themselves on an extremely dangerous line. It was no easy matter to find a way out of the difficult, extremely acute situation. On the one hand, you see, the moods and aspirations of the broad masses of the people, who were justly awaiting solutions to the acute social problems, had come into conflict; on the other hand, there was the adventuristic activity of the leaders of the "Karabakh" Committee, who have taken advantage of the mechanism of democracy and the real difficulties to whip up passions and manipulate public opinion. Under the guise of demanding a solution to the Karabakh question, they started an open struggle for power. In so doing, they did not stop at inciting people to disturbances, spreading malicious rumors, exerting pressure on the representatives of power, and presenting ultimatums.

On 12 January the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the question connected with the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and surrounding it. With the adoption of measures at the level of the USSR, the responsibility of the two republics for the normalization of relations between nations, for making the political and ideological atmosphere surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh more healthy, and for reviving the traditional good neighbourliness of the two peoples, will grow even more.

Difficult work faces us, the speaker went on. For so far we have not managed to overcome the sort of psychological barrier that exists between healthy, sober-minded forces and individual strata of the population who have been led astray, among whom, to our great misfortune, are a part of our intelligentsia.

After an objective and revealing portrait of the activity of political adventurers from the "Karabakh" Committee, numerous letters and cables arrived at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the republic supporting our principled position. At the same time, there are people among part of our creative and scientific intelligentsia who are trying to whitewash the self-proclaimed "leaders", encouraging people to commit illegal acts, whipping up discord between nationalities, and plunging the republic into anarchy and chaos. The position of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia on these questions is unambiguous and principled. A few days ago the Central Committee Bureau gave a severe evaluation of the unprincipledness of individual leaders of party, soviet, economic, and law and order bodies in the republic who shut their eyes to, and in some places contributed to inflaming discord between nationalities.

Specific steps to improve the ideological and moral climate in Armenia, and a speedy solution of issues in the social, economic, and spiritual sphere are a reliable guarantee that the Communists and all the working people of the republic will rally for the sake of a single goal, and mobilize all efforts to overcome the consequences of the earthquake, the speaker said in conclusion.

Nikolay Ryzhkov spoke at the meeting. For nearly a month and a half now, he said, the eyes of the Soviet people have been fixed on Armenia, and an endless wave of help and sympathy is coming here. For all this time the specially created CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission has been working, too. Yesterday we visited Leninakan, Spitak, and Kirovakan again. We recall our arrival here on the terrible morning of 8 December and our subsequent trips around towns and villages that suffered from the earthquake, and cannot help comparing that to what we saw yesterday. Of course, the progress is very real and visible. The last ruins are being removed, sites are being cleared for new construction, people's living conditions are being organized, and gradually, productive life is being set up. The mood in the disaster area is improving. People have taken heart.

Yesterday we heard many genuine words of gratitude to the representatives of the fraternal republics, ministries, and departments and the troops working in these places now. The significance of this help was immense in the early days. It wasn't just thousands of tons of freight, not just powerful equipment, not just money and material that came here. Our multinational country shares with Armenia not only its material resources and treasures, but also its spiritual warmth and hardness.

Grief has shown yet again that we are strong, when we are together; that only through internationalism and restructuring can we solve all the problems, including chronic ones, and find ways to overcome any troubles and difficulties.

You are aware, Nikolay Ryzhkov went on to say, of the big tasks set out by the Central Committee and the government on eliminating the consequences of the earthquake, and of the constant attention paid to these questions by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

During its examination of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission's report on this issue on 28 December, the Central Committee Politburo in particular emphasized the need to accelerate the work on rebuilding the socioeconomic potential of the regions which suffered. Implementation of the corresponding decisions by the party's Central Committee and of the USSR Council of Ministers plays a key role in this.

The speaker described the large-scale and comprehensive program for rebuilding and construction works. No less than 140,000 builders are needed to bring this about in the course of 2 years. The decisions, which were adopted by the party and government, are not only of huge social and national economic importance, but also of political importance because the question of the rebirth of a major region of the republic, where more than 25 percent of its inhabitants live, is being tackled. This is a question of vital importance for all Armenia. This is why it has become an all-union concern. Specific tasks have been set for each union republic, central ministries, and departments

The effective and timely utilization of assistance will depend on the efforts of Armenia itslf and its real contribution to elimination of the aftermath of the earthquake.

The speaker dwelt on the problems of rebuilding the social sphere, which is the first priority in the whole complex of work to be done. Acceptable living conditions must be created as quickly as possible for the victims and for all those who have come to assist them.

It is not only the towns and villages that have been destroyed by the disaster that must be rebuilt. In essence, there are many thousands of people's futures that must be rebuilt. It is easier to warm a person than it is to warm his soul. One of the most human tasks now facing all the Armenian people is to prevent people from languishing in their grief and descending into apathy.

Nikolay Ryzhkov outlined the situation in various branches of the economy in the stricken areas.

Specialists from many oblasts of the country have been sent to all the stricken kolkhozes and sovkhozes to render assistance to the rural areas. Support has been rendered in terms of seeds and equipment. But is was not only the natural elements that brought disaster to the countryside. Azerbaijanis have generally abandoned 105 villages with an Azerbaijani population. Party and local Soviet bodies need to carry out painstaking educational work in striving to keep people in the countryside, to bring back those who have left, and to guarantee people's safety.

Such an unacceptable phenomenon in our society as the deliberately encouraged migration of people from Armenia to Azerbaijan and from Azerbaijan to Armenia really is the most convincing demonstration of a simple truth: Friction between the nationalities is by no means inspired and whipped up by the working people, but as a rule it is paid for by the simple people—the ordinary worker with his well-being, his own hearth, his health, and even his life itself, Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed.

Today the efforts of the party committees and all Communists must be aimed at rallying the workers on positions of internationalism, and at achieving the fulfillment of the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Government, and also the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, which are aimed at stabilizing the position in the republic and improving relations between the nationalities.

Here the role of the intelligentsia, the spiritual mentor of the people, is an important one. The extreme conditions in which the Armenian and Azerbaijani people have found themselves have also placed severe demands on their intelligentsia. Unfortunately, in these days of difficult trial, some people, even those involved in professional creative labor, lacked breadth of ideas and sympathy with their own people, not to mention with neighboring people.

How can one distinguish what is true and what is false in this outburst of national self-awareness we are now observing? I think it is easy to distinguish, if we are guided by one single consideration: Where are the actions dictated by a sincere anguish for the fate of society, socialism, and restructuring, and where are they taken simply for the good of ones own ambitions, causing suffering to other people?

We talk a lot about the supervisors of restructuring, of its devotees; there are such devotees in Armenia, too. But it is no less important to speak of the poachers of restructuring, of those who are using this revolutionary political moment for purely ambitious interests, the speaker declared.

There is a need for a responsible and balanced attitude today also in connection with important decisions on Nagorno-Karabakh. The task of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Special Administration Committee, which will be accountable directly to the supreme bodies of state authority and administration of the USSR, is to normalize the situation in the autonomous oblast; to ensure order and the security of citizens and the uninterrupted operation of all the enterprises and organizations; and to put in order trade, the amenities, and medical services. The committee's main purpose is to consolidate the public forces on an interethnic basis.

The decision that has been adopted is a considerable help from the center to both union republics. The union bodies assume a considerable burden of the cares aimed at normalizing the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and assuring its social and economic development. This is a compromise which ensures a mutually acceptable balancing of the interests of the two union republics. It has displayed the well thought-out and principled course of the party in the nationalities policy.

However, measures taken at the level of the central bodies do not make the central committees of the Communist parties of Armenia and Azerbaijan in any way less responsible. They must guide the efforts of party organizations and all Communists toward a radical change in the situation, the normalization of social life in the republics, the consistent implementation of restructuring; they must ensure interaction in solving the problems which arise; and they must act in a single front against antirestructuring forces and any actions that provoke interethnic friction.

The cause of interethnic relations was greatly damaged by those who sought to profit from the social dissatisfaction of people, which grew up in a period of stagnation; from their displeasure with violations of the principles of social justice; and from serious deformations in the cadre policy. Carefully using people's national feelings, the prestige and even talent of certain representatives of creative intelligentsia, the connivance, and sometimes even blatant protection of the authorities, political adventurists put themselves in opposition to general democratic processes, the healthy social forces in the republic, and slipped into narrowly nationalistic and antirestructuring positions.

Activists in the "Karabakh" Committee played a fatal role in whipping up interethnic passions, in staging disorders, in driving thousands of innocent people from their native homes, in heightening sociopolitical tension in the republic. The committee's speculative essence was manifested patently in the days of national grief. Fearing lest they be relegated to the background by national disaster and internationalism, these alleged protectors of national interests started to send threatening ultimatums, to threaten arms, to sprinkle salt on the wounds of the people, to circulate false rumors; in a word, to do everything to draw attention and remain afloat.

The decision on Nagorno-Karabakah virtually removes the base for interethnic friction. But it would be wrong to hope that normalization will come about of its own accord, from above, the speaker said. There is a need for well- thought out, consistent work on both sides and at every level. This decision is not anyone's victory or anyone's defeat. It is prompted solely by the desire to ease tension in the region, to restore order, and to enable people to live in a normal atmosphere and work and raise their children.

Nikolay Ryzhkov noted that in 1988 the Armenian economy developed more slowly than in the majority of other union republics and on average throughout the country. The reasons are well known. There were, first and foremost, the strikes. One can't go on living like that. How can one at the same time talk about increasing the people's living standards? However, Armenia's intellectual, labor, and industrial potential enables the republic to overcome its backwardness in full measure.

Intensive, harmonious work in healing Armenia's wounds, drawing a sober and, if necessary, severe lesson from what has happened; stabilizing the life and labor of the popular masses in a vast region; overcoming serious holdups in the economy, in the spiritual, social, and political sphere—these are the main jobs to be done today by everyone toward restructuring, Nikolay Ryzhkov stated. [We must also work] toward changes for the better throughout the country, toward improving the prosperity and the welfare of all our peoples who, if not directly, are also experiencing the consequences of the earthquake, however far they may live from Armenia, he said.

A regular working meeting of the CPSU CC Politburo Commission was held on the same day. A conversation between members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission and Armenian leaders was held late in the evening at the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party.

TV Reports Ryzhkov Address

LD1801102089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An assembly of the party and economic aktiv of Armenia took place in Yerevan today. Tasks for fulfilling the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on measures for eliminating the consequences of the earthquake were discussed. Taking part in the work of the conference were Comrades Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, and Yazov; Comrades Batalin and Voronin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; and heads of a number of ministries and departments. A report was delivered by Comrade Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia. Then the floor was given to Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. He said, in particular:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] Esteemed comrades! Yesterday we heard many sincere, grateful words from inhabitants of the afflicted regions for the envoys of fraternal republics, ministries, and departments who are now laboring in those places. The significance of that help was immense in the first days after the earthquake. It was sometimes measured, in the literal sense of the word, by the rescue of human lives, but it is of no less importance now. Our country of many nationalities is sharing with Armenia not only its material resources and valuables—which, let us say straight out, do not exist in abundance anywhere in our country—but is also sharing with it its spiritual warmth and tenacity.

We are calling the second phase of work on eliminating the consequences of the earthquake that of restoration. It is no less complicated and no less humane that the first one, because in this case we are also dealing with a rescue—the rescue of the vital functions of a large region. I cannot fail to speak also of the contribution of the Armenian people themselves toward eliminating the consequences of the earthquake. That contribution is growing with each day.

Grief has shown yet again that we are strong when we are together and that the solution to all problems, including chronic ones, and the way to overcoming any misfortunes and difficulties lies only on the paths of internationalism and restructuring.

It is not for me to tell you that the exacerbation of the interethnic enmity has applied a heavy imprint on all public life in the republic. This phenomenon is probably the most convincing confirmation of a simple truth: Most often it is not at all the working people who inspire and fan interethnic frictions, but as a rule it is precisely the ordinary person, the rank-and-file working man, who pays for them—with his wellbeing, his native hearth, his health, and even his life.

It is primarily serious shortcomings in the organizational and political work of party committees that led to that misfortune. Today their efforts and the efforts of all Communists must be aimed at uniting the working people on positions of internationalism and at achieving fulfillment of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Government and also the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, which are directed toward stabilizing the situation in the republic and at improving interethnic relations.

In situations where passions are burning and the danger of precipitate, destructive mass actions is growing, where there exist signs of a state of crisis, the role of the intelligentsia, the spiritual mentor of their people, is always particularly significant. Unfortunately, in these days of severe trials, some people, even those involved in professional creative labor, lacked both breadth of thought and compassion for their own people, not to mention the neighboring people. Positive improvements and changes are taking shape today in their frame of mind. Perhaps this most terrible grief has put spiritual values and priorities in their proper places; perhaps the wave of people's compassion and sympathy that surged into the republic from all corners of the country and, perhaps, the very course of restructuring are encouraging this difficult recovery of sight. The main thing is that the brakes should not be applied to these processes of recovery, and that they should not contract but become irreversible.

How can one distinguish what is true and what is false in the surge of national self-awareness that is being observed now? I think it is simple to distinguish when guided by one criterion alone: where acts are dictated by sincere anguish for the fate of society, socialism and restructuring and where they are undertaken merely for the good of one's own ambitions, which cause suffering to other people.

It is now also necessary to evaluate the real situation soberly in connection with the major decision on Nagorno-Karabakh, about which you already know. Its main aim is to achieve a consolidation of public forces on an internationalist basis. The decision which has been adopted on Nagorno-Karabakh is, of course, to give considerable assistance from the center for both union republics. It is a compromise where a mutually acceptable balance of the interests of the two union republics is being observed. It reflects the even-handed and principled course of the party in the sphere of nationalities policy, a course aimed at overcoming interethnic enmity, stabilizing the situation and strengthening friendly, fraternal relations between the peoples. Immense damage was inflicted on the cause of interethnic relations by those who sought to profit from people's social dissatisfaction, which grew up in the period of stagnation, their displeasure with violation of the principles of social justice , and serious deformations in cadre policy.

Activists of the Karabakh Committee played a fatal role in whipping up interethnic passions. That committee's speculative essence was manifested clearly in the days of national grief, when, fearing that they would be pushed into the background by the wave of national disaster and internationalism, those alleged defenders of national interests started to do everything just to remind people of themselves and to remain afloat.

Life teaches us realism, the fact that no single problem is solved with a wave of somebody's magic wand, that everything depends on collective will and reason, on the ability to understand each other and to share each other's experiences, and finally, on the knowledge of how to labor as restructuring demands and the desire to do so. This is what we must concentrate on at this crucial time. Here lies the destiny of restructuring, on which the destiny of our multinational people, their civil and social state of health and their authority in the contemporary world also depend. Restructuring is internationalist in its spirit, because its goals encompass the aspirations of all Soviet peoples, including those in the sphere of interethnic relations. Whatever we do today, it must always be measured by the yardsticks of whether we are assisting its forward movement or whether, on the contrary, we are holding back. [applause] [end recording] [video shows Ryzhkov talking from rostrum. Yazov, Slyunkov, and Arutyunyan shown seated together on platform, also Batalin and Voronin side by side in separate shot.]

Ryzhkov Visits University

LD1801114089 Moscow TASS in English 1116 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan January 18 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited on January 18 the scientific and production amalgamation Lazernaya Tekhnika established at Yerevan University. He familiarised himself with the work of personnel engaged in development, production and introduction of the latest laser equipment, visited workshops which grow granite crystals, design and test various technology.

During his conversations with executives of the amalgamation and Yerevan University, Nikolay Ryzhkov pointed to great advantages of such enterprises which are engaged both in development of scientific ideas, designing and introduction of equipment. This integrated approach guarantees success in creating new technologies and machines. It was pointed out during the talks that, regrettably, now research work often ends "in a test-tube": It takes years to translate ideas into life.

The accumulated experience of the amalgamation Lazernaya Tekhnika shows that it is possible to create an economic model under which industrial enterprises look themselves for advanced development studies and allocate funds for these purposes. As a result, they get ready-made goods or new technologies. The volume of work fulfilled by the amalgamation last year alone topped 14 millon rubles. These funds were extended to the amalgamation by its customers—Armenian enterprises and organisations.

Leaves Armenia With Slyunkov

LD1801080689 Moscow TASS in Russian 0803 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan January 18 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who heads the Commission of the Soviet Communist Party Politburo on eliminating consequences of the Armenian earthquake, and Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo commission and secretary of the party Central Committee, left Armenia today.

Arrives in Moscow

LD1801115689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1135 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan (TASS)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who heads the Politburo commission on dealing with the aftermath of the earthquake, and Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the commission, member of the Politburo, and secretary of the party Central Committee, returned from Armenia to Moscow today.

Further on Azerbaijan Party Aktiv Meeting

PM1701120789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Correspondent Z. Kadymbekov report: "Party Aktiv Meeting"]

[Text] Baku, 14 Jan—A meeting of the republic party organization's aktiv has been held. A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report. The meeting examined the republic party organizations' tasks stemming from the CPSU Central Committee election campaign address to the party and the Soviet people and from the government's directives on normalizing the situation in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

The debate speakers approved the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree providing for the introduction of a special form of administration in the Azerbaijan SSR's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Participants in the aktiv meeting noted that this temporary measure, conforming with the interests of the two neighboring republics and the autonomous oblast's population, is aimed at normalizing the situation in the region and preventing an exacerbation of interethnic relations. The special role played by the CPSU Central Committee in the effort to work out a correct solution to overcome the tension and restore fraternal and friendly relations between the neighboring peoples was emphasized from the meeting's rostrum.

48 Detained During Baku Interethnic Hostility

NC1701190989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1000 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Notice by Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of Baku City Special District]

[Text] The situation in the city has remained basically unchanged. A total of 48 people and 4 cars were detained during curfew hours from 15 to 16 January 1989.

Guseynov Kerem Akberoglu, a painter employed by the Movie Theaters Union in Agdamskiy Rayon, and Mamedov Ali Isay Mamed Gasanoglu, a boiler worker affiliated with the (?Karagaz) construction materials complex, were placed under administrative detention by the internal affairs organs for 10 and 25 days, respectively, in accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree dated 23 November 1988. Guseynov was detained for disrupting public law and order and inciting interethnic hostility at Baku airport, and Mamedov was detained for inciting interethnic hostility.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Baku Notice on Authorization Certificates Issued

NC1701191289 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Notice by the Office of the Military Commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The office of the military commandant of Baku City Special District announces that authorization certificates will be changed (?in accordance with plans) for impoving the regime within the boundaries of the special district from 19 to 21 January. Authorization certificates which are being used at the present time will be invalid as of 21 January.

This is a reminder for the citizens of Baku: The authorization certificates, which provide the required authorization for the citizens [words indistinct]. They will be valid in all [words indistinct].

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of Baku City Special District

Latvian Party Secretary on 70-Year Anniversary

PM1301153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee: "'Our Time Is a Time for Work.' On the 70th Anniversary of the Latvian SSR"]

[Text] Today it is exactly 70 years since the memorable day when the First Congress of United Latvia's Soviets proclaimed the formation of the Latvian SSR.

This day was not picked at random. For Latvia's Communists and all its working people it has been and remains the day of commemoration of revolutionaries who died in the struggle for the proletariat's bright future. This tradition's roots go back to the turbulent year of 1905, when Riga's proletariat came out in the streets to express solidarity with Russia's peoples struggling against tsarist autocracy. Just as in Petersburg, they were met by gendarmes and soldiers who dealt with them brutally. Since that time, the blood that was shed for the just cause in Petersburg on 9 January and in Riga on 13 January has formed the eternal bond of fraternity between the proletariats of Russia and Latvia. Subsequent battles and sacrifices strengthened this alliance further still.

The Latvian people's revolutionary spirit in those years was highly appraised by V.I. Lenin. He wrote: "During the revolution, the Latvian proletariat and the Latvian social democrats took a leading and most prominent position in the struggle against autocracy and all forces of the old system."

While celebrating Soviet Socialist Latvia's jubilee today, we recall these events and these words in order to more clearly perceive the sources of the Lettish Red Riflemen's loyalty to the revolution and the selflessness with which the Latvian Rifle Division fought against the fascists on the approaches to Moscow in the terrible year of 1941.

But I would be sinning against the truth if I were to depict the path of the Latvian people's struggle for Soviet power and its establishment as a straight line. Its history is complex and dramatic. The process of our republic's establishment, whose beginning was marked by the Great October Socialist Revolution, was taking place in conditions of most acute struggle between the two trends of development of statehood—proletarian and bourgeois-democratic.

Our historians give the name of Iskolat [Ispolnitelnyy Komitet Latvii—Latvian Executive Committee] Republic to the first form of national statehood which was proclaimed in December 1917 on the territory of unoccupied Latvia by the Second Congress of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Landless People's Deputies. It was this congress which formed Latvia's first Soviet government (Iskolat). It was then that the widely known slogan of the Lettish Red Riflemen—"Free Latvia Within a Free Russia"—started being implemented.

But this republic did not last long—Kaiser's Germany already occupied all of Latvia by February 1918. Taking advantage of this, bourgeois and petit bourgeois parties, which formed a People's Council in occupied Riga, launched a counteroffensive. This council proclaimed a Latvian Republic 18 November 1918 and formed a provisional government.

Latvia's working people and the Lettish Red Riflemen did not support it, but instead responded wholeheartedly to the manifesto of the government headed by P. Stuchka which proclaimed the transition of all power to the hands of the Soviets on 17 December 1918.

Soviet Russia was the first to recognize the government of Soviet Latvia. V.I. Lenin signed a decree recognizing the independence of the Latvian Soviet Republic already on 22 December 1918.

Soviet power did not last long in our republic at that time. But it achieved so much. The congress adopted the republic's first Constitution, introduced an 8-hour workday, and distributed land to the poor. In March, the Sixth Latvian Communist Party [as published] Congress decided to rename the Latvian Social Democratic Party the Latvian Communist Party.

Times were hard. The republic, plundered by the occupiers, was just about getting on its feet. The population was starving, and unemployment was acutely felt. Soviet Russia offered a helping hand to the Latvian people. Sharing its own scant resources, it sent to Latvia railroad cars with grain and industrial goods, and granted it credit to the tune of R200 million.

Of course, the young and inexperienced government did make some mistakes. Nevertheless the republic's future was not determined by them but by the changing military-strategic situation in the region and the German Army's offensive.

A bourgeois republic was established throughout Latvia's territory by early 1920. During the 2 decades of its existence, the Latvian people made considerable efforts to develop agriculture. There were also achievements in the development of science and culture. We do not deny this.

But let us be completely frank. That was a "golden age" for those who were rich, who had land, factories, stores, and houses to rent. But those who cringed before the masters and wore clogs were struggling for a different society, a society of social justice.

It is impossible not to recall that Latvia in those years was, as Latvian poet Yan Sudrabkaln put it, "a morsel of butter and bacon in the grips of the greedy hands of imperialists."

The already hard situation of working people and even of the free-thinking intelligentsia started deteriorating further still following the 1934 coup d'etat by Ulmanis. Over a period of 6 years, thousands of innocent people suffered for various reasons in the hands of his regime's goons.

It is easy to understand the truly revolutionary enthusiasm with which the working people welcomed the creation of a people's government and the restoration of Soviet power in Latvia in 1940, its incorporation in the Soviet Union.

Today it is clear that history itself presented the Latvian people with a choice—either to struggle against fascism together with the USSR, or to march against the first socialist state together with fascism.

The working people led by the Latvian Communist Party made their historic choice in favor of socialism. For almost 50 years now we have been marching along this path together with the country's other peoples. We have experienced everything—joy and the bitterness of undeserved insults, losses and achievements. But it was precisely along this path that the working people realized: Socialism alone offers man the greatest social security.

Our people will never agree with those who claim that nothing good has been created since 1940. There are achievements, and considerable ones at that, both in the economy and in culture.

It is a different matter that much was done without taking the republic's specific features into account, to the detriment of the harmonious development of society and the economy, and this naturally led to the need for restructuring.

It was the policy of restructuring, launched at the party's initiative, that gave all peoples in the country a real opportunity to cleanse and renew socialism. We perceive the meaning of restructuring as lying not in destruction but in the elimination of the deformations inflicted upon socialism by Stalinism and the years of stagnation. This is why we advocate not any democracy, but a socialist democracy, a socialist pluralism of opinions and views. This was declared by Latvia's Communists with utmost responsibility at our Central Committee plenum which discussed the progress in fulfillment of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions and our tasks for the acceleration of restructuring.

That was also discussed at many report and election party meetings and conferences which preceded the plenum. They convincingly demonstrated Communists' desire to work in the new fashion, their increased demandingness toward themselves and toward the party leaders, the deepening democratization of intraparty life. There was an unsatisfactory appraisal of about 80 shop and primary party organization secretaries and of the Limbazhskiy party raykom. One-third of all raykom and gorkom secretaries were newly elected. The fact that most of them were elected from among several candidates is of fundamental importance. This means that new leaders with fresh ideas have joined the leadership and will help boost the prestige of party organizations and committees.

Assessing what has been done, Communists noted that, thanks to restructuring, there have been changes for the better in the economy and the social sphere. They are even more obvious in social life. Working people have been given an opportunity to more fully exercise their social and political activeness. Eloquent proof of this is provided by the emergence of two mass movements in support of restructuring in the republic—the Latvian Popular Front and the International Front of Latvian SSR Working People.

Each one of these movements has its own positive and negative features. They have different approaches toward identical questions, but at the same time their program documents have much in common. Their aspirations generally coincide. They also want an acceleration of restructuring. And we are striving to help them find more correct paths to attain this goal.

Restructuring has forced us to take a fresh look at many chronic problems. This is perhaps the first time in many years that we have so tangibly felt the imbalance in the development of industry and agriculture. We had obviously taken a long time before addressing the problems of environmental protection. And here is the result: The capital still lacks purification facilities to this day. Health officials have been forced to close beaches at the all-union health resort of Yurmala. The cities of Ventspils and Olayne, where a number of far from innocuous production units are sited, have turned into ecological hot spots through the fault of union departments.

Grave tension in interethnic relations was caused by the excessive migration of population to the republic and the hypertrophied urbanization. There is a real danger that the Latvian people could become a minority population in their own land. Unfortunately, irresponsible people who place their own personal interests or ambitions above all else try to exploit perfectly understandable national feelings. Passions are also fanned by reckless statements in a number of mass media.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee realizes that the certain amount of impatience and ardor among some Latvians as regards the solution of social, demographic, and linguistic problems is largely an expression of alarm for their future, and it takes this into account in its work. At the same time, we do not approve of attempts to dramatize these problems or to shift responsibility for their emergence exclusively onto union departments or people of other nationalities.

Blame for all these shortcomings must be shared by the republic's soviet, economic, and party organs which made a number of errors in the past as regards the deployment of productive forces and did not promptly raise barriers against departmental diktat. But this is all in the past. No matter how much we talk about past shortcomings, this will not make things better. In my view, it would be far more correct to devote more energy to the solution of pressing problems. It is good that not only individuals but entire peoples, including the Latvian people, have today started seeking ways to solve them.

People in Latvia realize with growing clarity that restructuring is something that is beyond the power of even the strongest republic on its own. Of course, Latvia could overtake other regions in some respects, but restructuring as a whole can be advanced only together, through joint efforts. In other words, today it is very important to ensure that the national factor works for restructuring rather than against it.

I think that our paramount task in preparing for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations is to raise interethnic relations in the republic to a new and higher level. This is why the Central Committee Bureau backed the public's suggestion to hold a Forum of Soviet Latvia's Peoples. Despite all the shortcomings, it certainly produced important results in the elaboration of a new model for mutual relations between the peoples living in the republic. The forum documents emphasized: For the Latvian people, Latvia is their fatherland, the only place where their language and culture can be fully developed. To assist this development is not just up to every Latvian, it is a matter of international duty for all residents in the republic.

The Latvian SSR's state organs are responsible for creating favorable conditions for the development of the language and culture of all national and ethnic groups living in the republic, while the Latvian nation is morally responsible for their comprehensive development.

This formula was also approved by a Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. It drew the unambiguous conclusion: The republic has solid foundations for the consolidation of all healthy forces and movements.

This formulation of the question enjoys broad support among the Latvian people. Deeds alone can advance restructuring today.

One automatically recalls Petr Stuchka's statement at that memorable Congress of United Latvia's Soviets: "We do not have any time for a lot of talk; generally speaking, now there is no time for talk, our time is a time for work."

That was said 7 decades ago. It would be useful to heed this call today.

Correspondent Views Latvian Interfront Congress

PM1301131789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by correspondent S. Stepenkov: "From Revival to Unity. Notes From the Constituent Congress of the Latvian Working People's International Front"]

[Text] Riga—It seems to me that people in the Baltic republics have already become used to sundry forums, congresses, demonstrations, rallies, marches, pickets, and other similar actions which are now an inalienable part of the republics' sociopolitical life. Yes, indeed. The first spontaneous rallies near the Monument to Freedom in Riga city center were held just 18 months ago. But political life perhaps reached its peak in the fall with the holding of the Latvian Popular Front constituent congress. The congress did not leave a single resident of the republic indifferent. The Latvian population (Latvians represent the overwhelming majority of both congress delegates and members of the Latvian Popular Front) was given an opportunity to speak up about its worries and problems. This was not always done with the sense of moderation that is necessary in such cases. This is why the other part of the republic's population, more often than not Russian-speaking, was downright discouraged and insulted by the frankly nationalist statements made by some Popular Front members. The result was a sharp exacerbation of interethnic relations. A serious step toward bringing the peoples closer together was made at the Forum of Latvia's Peoples held in early December last year. And now—the International Front [Interfront] congress.

The report by A. Belaychuk, cochairman of the Interfront Organizing Committee and prorector of the Riga Civil Aviation Engineers Institute, noted that "Interfront should not be perceived as an organization set up to counterbalance the Popular Front."

How, then, is one to understand the following remark in the selfsame report: "The preparation for the Latvian Popular Front constituent congress, the congress itself, and the decisions adopted by it were not unanimously and generally welcomed by the republic's entire population." ...Therefore, a large part of the population could not have subscribed to individual points in the Latvian Popular Front program, nor could it have joined the Latvian Popular Front. It was in these conditions that the Latvian Working People's International Front started taking shape.

The International Front leaders declare: "Interfront is a public organization which does not set itself the task of taking power in our republic." It is, however, well known that the Latvian Popular Front never said a word about "taking power," either.

The draft declaration points out that Interfront recognizes the CPSU's leading role in society. Yes, the Latvian Popular Front does not recognize the leading role of the CPSU or of any other parties. This is one of the fundamental points on which differences remain between the Latvian Popular Front and the International Front. There are others, too. But let us leave them aside for now. In what conditions was Interfront's constituent congress prepared? It must be bluntly said that representatives of the Latvian Popular Front did not help to create a healthy, normal, and creative atmosphere in this regard. The report cited the following facts, and I quote: "Resolution of the general meetings of production collectives within the 'Adazhi' Agrofirm held 2 November 1988 on attitudes toward the International Front: 'The International Front is against the republic's sovereignty as guaranteed by the Latvian SSR Constitution, against civil rights, against the Latvian language as a state language, and it supports arbitrary rule by union departments.... International Front leaders at the Riga Civil Aviation Institute organize slanderous campaigns against A. Gorbunov (chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium) and against other leaders.'" As a matter of fact, this entire statement is, to put it mildly, groundless. There were very many slogans, posters, statements, and declarations containing insults against the International Front.

Today we speak a lot about pluralism, but we ourselves are not always capable of listening to other people's opinions, the main point being that we are not always capable of taking it into account. Unfortunately, even representatives of the Latvian Popular Front obviously lacked the strength, will, and courage to recognize the existence of another movement, of another opinion. After all, the International Front also expresses an opinion, the hopes of a sizeable part of the republic's population.

I asked some congress participants to comment on its results.

V. Avotinsh, current affairs writer and member of the Popular Front Duma:

I personally got the impression that the Interfront Congress displayed rather too much leaning toward "creating" a new life by applying old methods. Consequently, the assessment of a number of problems such as the nationalities question and individual aspects of the state of social and economic affairs in the republic was based not on reality but—like in the past—on the tailoring of reality to suit preconceived views and ideas. The congress was gerontic not only in terms of its participants' age but also in terms of the level of theoretical interpretation. Hence the impression that Interfront has been created not on the basis of developing some new ideas but for the protection and self-defense of prevailing views. Evidence of this can also be seen in the fact that almost one-half of speakers did not speak about the Interfront as such or about its prospects but took issue with the Latvian Popular Front and its actions. Calls for consolidation are unconvincing without a precise and constructive basis and in the presence of the current confrontation.

One more public force has taken shape in Latvia. This is normal. What worries me more than anything else is the possible emergence of a situation whereby organizations will not concentrate on the substantive implementation of their programs but will squabble with one another. And each one will put forward the good of society and the people as its main argument. This cannot be allowed to happen.

V. Zaytsev, instructor at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department:

Each working day of the International Front's constituent congress ended with a news conference for journalists, as is usual for such events. It is accepted that press conferences are held for the purpose of enabling the organizers to brief journalists about their views and their assessments of various problems, and to answer any questions of interest. Unfortunately, however, I do not feel that a single one of the three meetings between Interfront organizers and journalists fulfilled this purpose.

Most representatives of the republican press and so-called "independent" publications did not even try to listen to speakers, but immediately attempted to launch a debate with members of the Interfront Republican Council on questions about nations' right to self-determination, about their attitude toward the creation of a rule-of-law state.... There were also some amusing incidents: Journalists asked about the attitude of Interfront representatives toward the struggle for independence in Ulster (?!).

Why were documents checked at the entrance to the building? Why were photographers forbidden from photographing someone who himself raised no objection to this? How many years has each participant in the news conference lived in Latvia? Trivial and unprincipled questions were endlessly asked. One got the impression that many journalists had come to the news conferences not to find out more about Interfront and inform their readers and viewers accordingly, but in order to gain an opportunity to make appropriate statements about their personal disagreement with the International Front's positions in front of television cameras (all news conferences were broadcast by republican television).

In my view, the three meetings with journalists convincingly displayed the intoxication with glasnost and, at the same time, the lack of elementary political culture and ability to debate even when disagreeing with the interlocutor. After all, the principle of "Whoever is not with us is against us" is not always suitable even in street fights, let alone in conversations between intelligent people.... And in the heat of polemics many journalists forgot that they represent the intelligentsia....

One of my colleagues, a journalist from Moscow, said that all three news conferences turned into press confrontations. This is extremely lamentable. After all, the press is one of the most important instruments for the restructuring of social awareness. What is needed here is primarily common sense, rather than emotions.

Antiracketeering Law Adopted in RSFSR

LD1501203189 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation has adopted an amendment to the Criminal Code. According to the amendment, racket is considered a criminal offence and is punished by deprivation of freedom from 4 to 10 years, with confiscation of property. (?A) racket appeared in this country at the end of the 1960's, along with the so-called shadow economy. Various enterprises producing wine, clothing, and footwear started an illegal business. Money obtained through unlawful means was too strong a temptation for blackmailers [as heard]. Today, due to high profits obtained by cooperatives, they have become the major victims of racketeers.

RSFSR Fish Industry Minister Retires

PM1301095589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Single Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade I.P. Peresypkin of his duties as RSFSR minister of the fish industry in connection with his retirement on pension.

Moscow Gorkom Views Conference Ideas

PM1701112189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report on "Moscow CPSU Gorkom Plenum" held 4 January]

[Excerpts] As reported earlier, a Moscow party gorkom plenum was held 4 January. Its participants discussed the theses of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom accountability report to the 27th Moscow city party organization conference.

A report on this question was delivered by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

An important stage of the report-and-election campaign in the Moscow city party organization has ended, he said. Rayon party conferences have been held. The conferences were held in a democratic atmosphere, marked by glasnost and the spirit of the demands of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and they created a businesslike mood on the eve of the 27th city party conference.

Work on the gorkom's accountability report is drawing to a close. Members of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, the participants in today's gorkom plenum, were able to acquaint themselves with the theses of the gorkom accountability report ahead of the plenum, digest them, and prepare their own proposals. Before we proceed to discussing these, I would like to highlight a number of key questions on which the party gorkom, raykoms, and primary party organizations focused their work during the period under review.

First. All the Moscow city party organization's work during this period took place under the influence of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, at which a firm course was set toward restructuring, democracy, glasnost, the renewal of all aspects of Soviet society's life, and acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. These ideas were later comprehensively developed by the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums and gained powerful support from Moscow's almost 1.2 million Communists and all Moscow's working people. Restructuring has become irreversible and enjoys the full support of the people.

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference was a special event for the party and the country. It stirred and mobilized the broad working masses to implement political reform and struggle against bureaucracy and gave a powerful new impetus to all work aimed at deepening intraparty democracy, further developing glasnost, and improving interethnic relations.

Embarking on restructuring, the party focused its efforts primarily on radically improving work connected with applying the achievements of scientific and technical progress, strengthening the base sectors of the national economy, improving the management system, and dismantling the braking mechanism. A firm course has been set toward the social reorientation of the economy. The burdensome consequences of the period of stagnation are being overcome, there is increasing intolerance toward all kinds of manifestations of window-dressing and deception, and areas which were once above criticism are disappearing. The principle of consistency between word and action is being persistently asserted.

Second. In accordance with the previous city party conference decisions and the critical comments and proposals made there, the attention of party gorkom plenums and bureau sessions was focused on progress of restructuring in the economic and social spheres, renewal of the forms and methods of party building, and improvement of ideological and educational work. The main efforts of the city party organization were geared toward ensuring a better utilization of Moscow's production and scientific and technical potential and increasing its contribution to the country's socioeconomic development.

Virtually all the city's national economic sectors fulfilled the 3-year targets of the 5-year plan successfully. The quality of goods bearing the capital's hallmark improved slightly. The production of consumer goods was stepped up. A certain amount of progress was achieved in resolving the housing problem.

It is no accident that the theses of the gorkom's accountability report refer with alarm to the sorry state of the construction industry's material and technical base. It is essential to ensure its accelerated development up to 1991.

The transfer of enterprises in all sectors to economic accountability and self-financing has been completed.

From the theses:

Work in the new conditions demands great responsibility and new economic thinking from labor collectives and party organizations.

At the same time, there is evidence of lagging behind in a number of spheres. The strained financial position of many collectives is causing concern. One in four enterprises which have switched to full economic accountability failed to fulfill the 1988 profit plan.

Many labor collectives and party organizations have adopted a wait-and-see attitude and are in no hurry to master the new forms of management. Some enterprises have sought to obtain additional profit by raising the prices for their output. The introduction of internal economic accountability within production units is making little headway. Inadequate knowledge of economics among cadres is still a serious obstacle to economic reform.

The links between science and production have been strengthened, and initiative aimed at actively utilizing the advantages of the new economic mechanism is being developed.

From the theses:

The gorkom has given backing to new approaches to the organization of scientific research and development work. As part of the introduction of new sector management schemes, large science-and-production associations have been set up in the city, and the work of intersectoral scientific-technical complexes is being improved. The "Kvant" intersectoral state association has gone into operation. The very concept of the structure of this association is geared toward dismantling interdepartmental barriers and concentrating scientific and technical potential on the solution of large-scale targeted tasks.

However, the gorkom and the city's party organizations are not exerting enough influence on Moscow scientists to increase their contribution to resolving economic and social tasks. The cost-based mechanism which grew up in the past still largely prevails in the work of scientific research institutes and design bureaus. A number of them, exploiting their monopoly position, continue to produce outdated projects and obsolete models of equipment and exert little influence on scientific-technical progress in the material production sphere.

Active efforts are under way to reconstruct and retool Moscow enterprises, and this has made it possible to reduce the share of manual labor.

Labor resources continue to be a complex problem. Measures are being implemented to limit recruitment of workers from other cities. The number of people employed in the construction industry, trade, and consumer services has stabilized, but the number of people working in science continued to rise.

The Laws on the State Enterprise (Association) and on Cooperatives have come into force, labor collective councils are gaining in strength, and the cooperative movement and the lease contract are developing.

From the theses:

The development of democracy in the production sphere has been a step of fundamental importance. The more than 3,000 labor collective councils which are operating in Moscow are increasingly actively proving to be the natural representatives of working people's interests. The task of party organizations in these conditions is to help labor collective councils not just to pose questions correctly, but also to resolve them competently. The practical collaboration between these councils and trade unions and other social organizations in solving social questions needs to be improved.

The new conditions of management and the development of democracy and self-management are radically changing approaches to the organization and stimulation of socialist competition. The latter remains a significant lever in the implementation of socioeconomic development plans. We must resolutely rid ourselves of administrative methods of organizing it, invest the competition with a social thrust, and increase enterprises' economic interest in specific and comparable labor competition.

Much has been done in the city to develop the cooperative movement. We will continue to back this movement in the future. At the same time it must be admitted that the movement has also given rise to a number of problems. The high prices, and occasionally also the low quality of cooperative goods have come in for justified criticism. Advantageous taxation and price formation conditions have resulted in a migration of skilled cadres from enterprises and organizations to cooperatives. The party gorkom believes that the adjustment of the financial and economic mechanism must be speeded up to ensure equal conditions for the cooperative and the state sector.

All this has made it necessary for party committees to restructure the forms and methods of party leadership, and above all to resolutely rid themselves of the administrative-edict style in economic management. Principles of a scientific and systematic approach to the comprehensive solution of long-term and current problems in the city's socioeconomic development have assumed prime importance. This is precisely the approach which has been adopted in elaborating the new general plan for the development of Moscow city and Moscow Oblast and the "Progress-95" comprehensive territorial-sectoral program.

The General Scheme for the Management of Moscow's Economy is aimed at dismantling departmental barriers, combining territorial and sectoral interests, separating the functions of party and soviet organs, and enhancing the independence and responsibility of grassroots components.

The proposals put forward by the party gorkom and Moscow gorispolkom to resolve the three key problems given priority at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference—the housing problem, the food problem, and the need to saturate the market with consumer goods—have won the support of the party and the government.

The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted resolutions on problems which have a direct bearing on efforts to enhance the Muscovites' prosperity and raise their living standards. These include a radical improvement of health care and transport services, and above all the preferential development of the subway network, a strengthening of the material and technical base of processing and food industry sectors, and improved supplies of vegetables and fruit. Special attention is being paid to the protection of the environment and the accelerated removal from the capital of nonspecific and ecologically harmful production capacities. In this way good groundwork has been laid for systematic work in the future.

From the theses:

Despite the fact that the steps which have been taken made it possible to increase the sales of food and industrial goods as a whole, we have not been able to eliminate the strained situation in the supply of goods to the population.

There are serious shortcomings in saturating the market with goods in mass demand. The gulf between the working people's incomes and the material goods available to cover them is increasing. The planning of the production and marketing of consumer goods is too centralized. It should be entrusted as far as possible to the Moscow gorispolkom.

The quality and reliability of consumer goods produced in the city, unjustified price rises, and the "erosion" of cheap goods have attracted justified criticism. The consumer association which has been set up in Moscow is intended to defend consumer interests. It needs the party's support.

With a view to ensuring supplies of goods and food products to Muscovites, it is necessary to increase the allocation of corresponding funds for Moscow Oblast inhabitants and simultaneously to increase and expand the range of dairy products, vegetables, and fruit produced in the oblast; to considerably increase in 1989-1990 the floor space of specialized stores selling vegetables and potatoes; to complete the reconstruction of dairy industry enterprises by 1991 and of meat processing industry enterprises by 1995; and to modernize the city's bread-baking industry and build some 300 small bakeries. It is planned to retool 76 of the capital's 108 light industry enterprises.

During the period under review the party gorkom also strove for improvements in other priority spheres of Moscow's social development. Measures are being taken to develop the capital's health care facilities. Around R1.5 billion has been allocated for this purpose. These funds must be used to carry out the reconstruction of existing medical establishments and equip not only major centers but also city and rayon polyclinics and hospitals with modern diagnostic equipment.

Some progress in the solution of transport problems was made possible by the ahead-of-schedule commissioning of new subway lines and an increase in high-capacity rolling stock. However, the transport problem remains acute. The party gorkom must step up its efforts in this sphere and to steer a course toward further subway construction at a preferential rate.

Third. Persistent restructuring of ideological work is under way with a view to inspiring Muscovites with the ideas of restructuring and enhancing their activeness in implementing economic reform and the reform of the political system as two mutually interconnected and interdependent processes. The style of work with people is being updated, and the main emphasis is being placed on constant contact and consultation with Muscovites, taking their opinions into account. This is becoming an iron rule in implementing the program for reconstruction of the downtown area of the city, the preservation of historical and cultural monuments, and the development of existing neighborhoods, and in making decisions on long-term urban development.

Special importance is being attached to improving the substance of work carried out at the neighborhood level and in the patriotic and moral education of young people. The "Young Family" program and programs for the development of physical culture and sport have been drawn up and are being implemented.

From the theses:

FOK's [expansion unknown] are being built at housing developments, cafes for young people, amateur circles, and youth clubs are being organized. At the same time, effective organizational forms to pool the forces of Communists in neighborhood units, levers to instill in Muscovites a love of their city and to involve them in active work to improve the amenities in neighborhoods have not yet been found.

Moscovites' selfless assistance to the earthquake-striken population of Armenia was a vivid manifestation of internationalism and the indestructible, fraternal friendship of our country's peoples.

From the theses:

The party gorkom has analyzed the processes taking place in group-initiative associations. It has built up experience in work with these associations and provided support for socially significant citizens' initiatives, involving them in constructive work to renew society. Attempts by demagogues, extremists, and nationalist groupings to foist on the public demands which are alien to our society and are often presented in the crude form of ultimatums have been rebuffed. A dialogue is being conducted with politicized "informal" associations. At the same time, the ideological aktiv and workers must be involved more extensively in this work.

New steps have been taken in satisfying Muscovites' cultural requirements, bearing in mind the multinational character of the city's population. It is necessary to adopt a more comprehensive approach to this work, to make thoughtful use of different forms of patriotic and international education in labor collectives and on housing developments, and to accelerate the creation of union-republic and foreign-country cultural centers.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom must deepen its cooperation with socialist countries' capital city party organizations, develop the practice of concluding long-term contracts with them, expand cooperation in the sphere of ideological work, and make better use of our friends' experience in socioeconomic development.

By supporting the constructive initiatives of citizens' group-initiative associations in every way, party organizations are contributing to the development of self-management and to citizens' active participation in restructuring. At the same time, demagogues and extremist elements who proceed from antisocial positions and antirestructuring and conservative forces trying to thwart the positive processes of renewal are being resolutely rebuffed in the course of political struggle.

A firm course is being steered toward reinforcing law and order and the strict observance of socialist legality, discipline, and organization, and instilling intolerance of such ugly phenomena as bribe-taking, embezzlement, speculation, and drunkenness.

From the theses:

It is necessary to substantially improve the legal enlightenment and education of working people, particularly young people, and to step up Communists' personal participation in combating lawbreaking and crime. The number of serious crimes remains substantial in the city and the level of lawbreaking in the economic sphere is high.

Fourth. Attempts to supplant the processes of democratization and glasnost by a repeated reshuffling of cadres and to replace consistent efforts to resolve the problems which have built up by economically unsubstantiated promises have met with resolute rejection from the capital's party aktiv and party gorkom membership.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom 11 November 1987 Plenum made a principled assessment of these distortions, demonstrated the maturity of the city party organization, and confirmed once again that it is a reliable support of the Central Committee.

The party gorkom regards as one of its key tasks in party building the nomination, deployment, and education of enterprising and creatively minded cadres, highly receptive to new and progressive developments and capable, by their example, of leading the masses into the struggle for the triumph of restructuring. In the course of the report-and-election campaign the membership of elective organs, including party raykoms, has been renewed more than 60 percent. More than one-third of party leaders were elected on an alternative basis.

From the theses:

Measures have been adopted to expand collectivist principles in the work of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and party gorkom members have played a more active part in the work of its commissions and, in particular, in the drafting of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom accountability report.

Developing the independence of party raykoms and primary organizations and abandoning excessive regulation of their work has become a dominant trend in work with them.

The apparatus of the CPSU Gorkom and raykoms has been reorganized and cut back; the sectoral departments have been abolished. At the same time, the gorkom does not ignore economic issues. It will influence their solution by political methods.

The publication of a Moscow CPSU Gorkom information bulletin has been organized, and reports on gorkom bureau sessions are regularly published in the city newspapers and used in Moscow local radio and television broadcasts.

Relations between the elective organ and its apparatus are to be correctly organized and the commissions on priority areas of Moscow CPSU Gorkom activity, which will be formed under the new gorkom, will help ensure the primacy of political approaches in the leadership.

Bureaucratic distortions in party work style are to be eradicated, and the control and auditing commissions that are being set up are intended to enhance Communists' responsibility for their work.

Opinions about candidates for leading posts during their reports are actively studied at party meetings and party committee and party bureau sessions and in conversations with Communists and nonparty people. The "questionnaire approach" in work on cadre selection and attempts to reduce restructuring to a leadership shakeup are being eradicated. Sociological research, certification, and a reserve training period are to be introduced.

At the same time, it should be admitted that an effective integrated system of work with party, soviet, and economic cadres has not yet been established in the city. Administrative formalities have not been fully eradicated and not enough young people, women, or nonparty comrades are being put forward for leading posts.

It is necessary to resolutely resist subjectivism in carrying out cadre policy, transfer the levers of its practical implementation from the executive apparatus to the elective organ, and consistently pursue a course of democratizing all cadre work.

Fifth. In the upcoming period, acting on the basis of the changes in the structure of the party apparatus and demarcation of the functions of party, soviet, and economic bodies and persistently mastering political methods of leadership, we must focus efforts on the following main areas of work.

While getting Communists and all working people to resolutely accelerate the socioeconomic development of labor collectives, rayons, and the city, party organizations must be clearly aware that in the economic sphere our successful advance will be determined by a triple task. This means further intensification of the social reorientation of the economy and structural transformations associated with it and a deepening of the influence of economic accountability. It means the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. Finally, it means resolute promotion of economic reform in conditions of extensive democratization of all aspects of society's life.

When talking about intensifying the social orientation of the economy, it is necessary to ensure that the increase in the output of Group B industrial products radically outstrips that of Group A, that is, that more of the type of goods that people particularly need are produced. Major measures are to be implemented to create a services industry, and a number of enterprises and shops that exist now or are in the process of construction, including defense complex facilities, are even to be converted to produce consumer goods which are in great demand.

It is important to minimize waste of agricultural raw material and foodstuffs through retooling and the introduction of modern storage and processing technology.

Obviously, there should be another expert check on industrial facilities under construction, projects that have been started will have to be suspended if obsolete methods are being used, and the resources and capacities will then be switched into the development of the social sphere, reconstruction and retooling of existing enterprises, the creation of experimental and trial production units, scientific organizations, and higher and secondary education. This, together with centralized sources of finance, will make it possible above all to successfully solve the housing problem, increase expenditure on medical services and health care, and make the activity of scientific research institutes, design bureaus, schools, and VUZ's more effective.

As for scientific-technical progress, as you will recall, following the Central Committee April (1985) plenum the party and government determined a program for the radical modernization of civil machine building sectors to ensure accelerated retooling of the production apparatus and reconstruction of the entire national economy. The implementation of this program must be constantly monitored by the party. Machine building is the foundation on which the scientific-technical progress of the entire national economy rests.

But in Moscow the implementation of the program for modernizing this sector is certainly not progressing at the rate set down by the well-known government resolutions. This applies above all to machine tool building, instrument building, the electrical equipment industry, and even the electronics industry, that is, to the principal industrial sectors. One must always remember Lenin's idea that a strong economy is the foundation of a strong policy.

Finally, we come to the urgent tasks associated with the further improvement of the economic mechanism. First and foremost, the introduction of economic accountability arrangements all along the line—from section, shop, enterprise, and rayon to the city as the sum of all these links. Economic accountability implies strong contract discipline. Only its unswerving observance will guarantee a stable financial situation and profits, and, therefore, stable material development and incentive funds for collectives.

The party gorkom must demand that ministries decide on the fate of unprofitable Moscow enterprises which are aggravating the already large city budget deficit, hindering effective production development, and ultimately inhibiting the growth of Muscovites' prosperity.

The improvement of the economy's financial health will be aided by urgent measures to eliminate surplus stocks of raw materials and supplies and equipment and to remove obsolete machine tools from enterprises and fully exploit highly productive machine tools. More active use must be made of the experience accumulated in a number of rayons of the sale of surplus equipment and production waste through a network of specialized stores.

Genuine economic accountability assumes that the improvement of labor productivity outstrips the growth of wages. Unfortunately work results last year show the opposite—the growth of wages in industry, particularly in construction, is substantially outstripping the improvement of labor productivity. If this demand continues to be violated, we will not be able to overcome the inflationary processes which are a heavy burden on our economy.

Sixth. The theses highlight tasks related to increasing the role of all levels of soviets. The transfer to rayispolkoms of the rights and responsibility for the state of affairs in subordinate territories demands a radical change in the work style of their departments. Learning how to trade, keep the city clean and orderly, and improve the standard of consumer and transport services; in short, all that goes with the concept of a civilized city are just some of the paramount tasks which Communists and all ispolkoms' services must work to solve.

From the theses:

Preparations are under way for elections of USSR people's deputies. An intensive election campaign is being conducted in conditions whereby alternative candidates are nominated. Its main aim is to choose as the country's people's deputies people who are competent, who are staunch advocates of socialist renewal and think in state terms, and who are fit to represent their electorates.

Preparations must begin for the local soviet elections, which will be an important practical step toward the restoration of soviets' sovereignty. The election of neighborhood soviets should be accelerated, thus completing the creation of a unified system of territorial self-management.

The election results will be a yardstick of the city party organization's prestige among the city's working people and inhabitants.

Seven. On the subject of ideological work, the main point here is to get through to everyone, to ensure that the ideas of restructuring are taken on board by the broadest masses of working people and become everyone's cause. The party gorkom and raykoms are not always masters of the situation and, consequently, do not always exercise proper influence on the moral and psychological climate among the creative intelligentsia. It is clearly no accident that Communists working in the creative unions often keep to themselves, get involved in internecine battles, are sometimes unable to correctly analyze the processes of social and political life, come across as somewhat perplexed, and are slaves to various pseudorevolutionary phrases and leftist deviations. It is legitimate also to raise the question of shortcomings in the work of moviemakers and theater people, the overeagerness of a number of creative collectives to be commercial and entertaining, and the shrinking of moral and ethical criteria to the detriment of moral standards in art, which is having a deleterious effect on young people's upbringing.

From the theses:

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom and raykoms must unite creative unions' efforts in creating a favorable spiritual atmosphere, an atmosphere of responsibility and amicability. The artistic intelligentsia must be armed with a knowledge of the real processes of restructuring. Its links with production collectives must be strengthened and sponsorship work must be broadened.

The material and technical base of the city's cultural institutions requires further strengthening. The USSR Council of Ministers draft resolution on a program for the development of Moscow theaters has gotten stuck at the coordination stage.

In implementing the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On restructuring the system of working people's political and economic training," the party gorkom sought to get away from formalism in the organization of classes and to

make them more practical. An ideological cadre overhaul is taking place. But the influence of oral political propaganda and agitation on people and their attitudes and on the life stance they adopt is insignificant.

Among propagandists, lecturers, and the agitation aktiv, there are still a considerable number of people who got there by mistake, people with poor professional training. Naturally, they are not always capable of conducting a dialogue and rebuffing demagogic actions, and in a number of cases they have sunk into philistinism. The party gorkom has to adopt immediate measures to overhaul the propaganda corps and strengthen social science cadres' theoretical arsenal and methodological training. The work of social science department teachers is to be stepped up. The quest for modern forms of work with young social scientists requires special attention.

In the course of the reports and elections, Communists have repeatedly demanded that the party gorkom improve the standard of leadership of the media. What is meant is not a lower temperature and smaller volume of criticism, but an absence of bias in assessing our history and the phenomena of today.

From the theses:

Some of the material in the Moscow mass media does not direct the capital's working people toward specific deeds, there is still a great deal of loud sensationalism in the publications, rushed work is tolerated, and sometimes incompetence and rash conclusions and assessments are reached. These shortcomings occur particularly often in broadcasts by Moscow television and radio, whose leadership was subjected to severe criticism at a Moscow CPSU Gorkom Plenum.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom Ideology Department still does not have the necessary contact with mass media editorial offices.

Press, television, and radio are required to investigate city problems more thoroughly, take a firm stance on realism and knowledge of life, and actively defend our ideals, moral values, and socialist spirituality.

Eight. Party organizations have stopped exercising petty tutelage over the Komsomol, and that is right. But something else is intolerable—that Komsomol members and the growing population should be ignored and not supported by their older comrades.

From the theses:

Gorkom and party organizations should examine more thoroughly the processes taking place among young people. The Komsomol's prestige among young people remains low. The Moscow Komsomol gorkom and raykom's excessive interest in spare-time work to the detriment of ideological and educational activity is worrying. Komsomol political studies have clearly been neglected, and the formation of cadres of young lecturers and propagandists is not going well. Party committees should revise the forms and methods of their work with young people in accordance with the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference directions and the proposals expressed by M.S. Gorbachev at the meeting with Komsomol members from Moscow and the Moscow area.

The CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum, which approved the concept of restructuring secondary and higher schools, brought to the forefront the tasks of adopting an innovative approach to training and education and increasing young people's computer literacy. But it should be admitted self-critically that the plenum decisions were not converted into specific action programs for many party organizations at schools, vocational and technical schools, VUZ's, and organs in charge of public education.

A great deal of time was spent setting up the city public education committee, which is just now beginning to gain independence and grow. There are serious defects in the study and education process that relate entirely to our schools, a recent congress of public education personnel revealed.

Trade unions also face enormous tasks, above all in injecting new content into all the work. From the variety of questions which they are expected to resolve, I shall single out two. They are: improving the organization of socialist competition and increasing workers' control, and the protection of consumers' rights.

Restructuring's success will be determined by party organizations' militancy, our struggle for the pure and honest image of the party member which ultimately determines the party's prestige among the people and its vanguard role.

From the theses:

We need to vigorously use the experience gained during the reports and elections to democratize internal party relations, including resolving cadre questions, guided moreover by the basic principle of CPSU activity—the principle of democratic centralism.

Taking into account the significant renewal of the cadre structure, attention ought to be paid primarily to training the elected aktiv in modern forms and methods of party work.

The party gorkom and raykom should boost the prestige of primary party organizations and their links with the masses, which will assist in improving the qualitative content of the party ranks.

Increasing the militancy of party organizations and Communists' vanguard role guarantees the growth of the party's prestige and accelerates restructuring.

These, comrades, are the key points which will be detailed and analyzed thoroughly in the report, on which work is continuing. In the report, of course, a place will also be found for constructive and objective criticism, and those who are specifically to blame for the omissions mentioned will be named.

But I would like to note the gorkom's principled approach in preparing for the conference: I think that it is not the facts in themselves which are important, not criticism of the cadres for the sake of criticism, but finding constructive ways to resolve both current as well as future tasks, and involving in this work all echelons of the city party organization and every Communist. [passage omitted]

L.N. Zaykov summed up the results of the discussion.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom Plenum approved the theses for the party gorkom report to the 27th conference of the Moscow city CPSU organization. The Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau was instructed to complete the party gorkom report to the 27th conference of the Moscow CPSU city organization, taking into account the comments and amplifications voiced at the plenum.

The plenum approved L.N. Zaykov, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, as the main speaker at the 27th conference of the Moscow city CPSU organization. [passage omitted]

Maritime Kraykom Officials Replaced

PM1701094989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "From Positions of Restructuring"]

[Text] Vladivostok, 14 Jan—The political line of deepening democratization and glasnost in intraparty life enjoys Communists' unconditional support. This was convincingly proved at the 22d party conference held in the Maritime Kray center 13-14 January.

Keynote speaker A.A. Volyntsev, second secretary of the CPSU Kraykom, and the delegates who spoke during the debate focused attention on omissions in the activity of the kray's elected organs, primarily in the social sphere. At present 160,000 Maritime Kray residents are waiting for better housing conditions, and the number of polyclinics available in the kray is only 56 percent of the normative. The problem of supplying the population with food and other goods remains acute, despite some progress in industry and agriculture, and dozens of villages are under threat of withering away.

Participants in the conference admitted that they are to blame for these omissions, rather than seeking culprits elsewhere. The still extant edict-and-pressure style, bureaucratism, and incompetence in party work were unanimously condemned from the podium at the kray forum. They have left especially deep negative traces on the ideological sphere, which resulted in sharp personal criticism against party kraykom Secretary V.P. Chernyshov, who was not elected for another term.

V.N. Krikhunov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadres Work Department, took part in the conference's work and spoke in the debate.

An organizational plenum of the Maritime Kray CPSU Kraykom elected A.A. Volyntsev first secretary. D.N. Gagarov, hitherto first secretary, was relieved of duties in connection with his retirement on pension for health reasons.

Komsomol Central Committee Plenum Opens 13 Jan

PM1701164789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on the Fifth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The Fifth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum began its work 13 January in Moscow. The following questions were put forward for its examination:

1. On the nomination of candidates for USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol.

2. On holding elections of USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol.

3. On holding a general Komsomol debate and on the Komsomol draft election platform.

4. On the Komsomol budget for 1989.

5. Organizational questions.

V. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, delivered a report on the first three questions.

People recommended by Komsomol organizations for nomination as candidates for USSR people's deputies but who were not included on the list presented to the Fifth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum by the Komsomol Central Committee Commission on Preparing and Holding Elections of USSR People's Deputies were given an opportunity to put forward their programs. A total of 26 people spoke.

The plenum drew up a voting list and set about discussing and nominating candidacies.

The following took part in the work of the Komsomol Central Committee plenum: Yu.G. Oshlakov, sector chief in the CPSU Central Committee Party Construction and Cadre Work Department; senior Komsomol Central Committee workers; union republic Komsomol Central Committee first and second secretaries; Komsomol kraykom and obkom first secretaries; assistant chiefs of political directorates and political departments in branches and categories of the Armed Forces, districts, groups, and fleets responsible for Komsomol work but not members of the Komsomol's central elected organs.

Comrades nominated by local Komsomol committees as candidates for USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol were invited to the plenum.

Representatives of the mass media attended the plenum.

The Fifth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum will continue its work 14 January.

Personnel Changes Made 14 Jan

PM1701120189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Information Report on the Fifth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The Fifth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum continued its work 14 January.

The plenum nominated 102 candidates for USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol.

The plenum adopted a resolution "On Holding Elections of USSR People's Deputies From the Komsomol."

It was decided to hold a general Komsomol debate in 1989 on the progress of restructuring within the Komsomol in order:

to discuss in January-March the Komsomol draft election platform at elections of USSR people's deputies and to approve and publish in the press a draft platform for broad discussion within Komsomol organizations and among young people;

to discuss in August-December the Komsomol Central Committee theses on questions of democratizing the Komsomol and improving its internal structure.

The plenum adopted a resolution "On the 1989 Komsomol Budget."

Organizational questions were examined.

The plenum transferred V. Kaplenkov, spinner at Ivanovo's F.E. Dzerzhinskiy Spinning and Weaving Mill, from candidate membership to full membership of the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau.

The plenum relieved R. Alimov, who previously worked as first secretary of the Tajik Komsomol Central Committee, of his duties as candidate member of the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau in connection with his transfer to party work.

The plenum elected A. Nasyrov, first secretary of the Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee, and I. Priyeditis, first secretary of the Latvian Komsomol Central Committee, candidate members of the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau.

The plenum removed the following from the Komsomol Central Committee in connection with a change in their place of work: A. Almann,; I. Buzhenitsa; P. Kargina; N. Kotelnikov; G. Nedelko; V. Petrenko; S. Rybakov; V. Smirnov; A. Tyurin; S. Frolov; V. Demin; and L. Guryev.

The plenum transferred Yu. Surkov, first secretary of Karelia Komsomol Obkom, from candidate member to full member of the Komsomol Central Committee.

The plenum made the following full members of the Komsomol Central Committee: V. Yermakov, first secretary of Volgograd Komsomol Obkom; Yu. Burchakov, first secretary of Leningrad Komsomol Obkom; A. Morozov, first secretary of Novosibirsk Komsomol Obkom; M. Rodionov, first secretary of Rostov Oblast; A. Sabetov, first secretary of Tambov Komsomol Obkom; I. Rybnikov, first secretary of Ulyanovsk Komsomol Obkom; D. Bragish, first secretary of the Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee; and U. Leanem, first secretary of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee.

The plenum made the following candidate members of the Komsomol Central Committee: I. Vorobyev, first secretary of Voronezh Komsomol Obkom; Yu. Zernov, first secretary of Novgorod Komsomol Obkom; and M. Sinitsyn, first secretary of Saratov Komsomol Oblast.

The Komsomol Central Committee plenum adopted a decision on changes in the composition of the Komsomol Central Committee permanent and special commissions.

The plenum ended its work here.

More on Death of Academician Valentin Glushko

TASS Notes Scientific 'Talent'

LD1201183789 Moscow TASS in English 1828 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Academician Valentin Glushko, an outstanding scientist and space rocket designer, died here at the age of 80 after a grave illness.

An obituary signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet party leaders and statesmen as well as prominent scientists and designers noted his guidance of development efforts to create spacecraft, orbital stations and the reusable space system Energya-buran.

It said that Glushko's marked talent and his versatile knowledge in many areas of science and technology enabled him to successfully cope with tasks set by the party and the government.

Leaders Sign Obituary

PM1301154789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Jan 89 Second Edition p 8

[Obituary of Academician V.P. Glushko]

[Excerpts] Twice Hero of Socialist Labor Academician Valentin Petrovich Glushko, general designer, member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and Lenin and USSR State Prize winner, died in his 81st year after a serious illness on Moscow 10 January 1989. [passage omitted]

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, O.D. Baklanov, I.S. Belousov, L.A. Voronin, I.S. Silayev, B.L. Tolstykh, G.I. Marchuk, O.S. Belyakov, V.I. Shimko, V.K. Mesyats, V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, V.M. Belousov, N.V. Gorshkov, I.V. Koksanov, V.G. Kolesnikov, E.K. Pervyshin, L.D. Ryabev, A.S. Systsov, P.V. Finogenov, Ye.P. Velikhov, K.V. Frolov, V.I. Smyslov, V.L. Koblov, S.A. Afanasyev, V.S. Avduyevskiy, V.P. Barmin, V.A. Kotelnikov, V.I. Kuznetsov, M.F. Reshetnev, R.Z. Sagdeyev, G.P. Svishchev, A.N. Tikhonov, V.F. Utkin, Ye.A. Fedosov, O.N. Shishkin, R.R. Kiryushin, V.A. Kurochkin, A.A. Maksimov, S.S. Vanin, G.F. Grigorenko, A.I. Dunayev, V.V. Lobanov, A.S. Matrenin, V.Ye. Sokolov, V.N. Soshin, A.Ye. Shestakov, A.A. Borisenko, V.D. Vachnadze, V.I. Gubanov, L.I. Gusev, G.A. Yefremov, N.I. Zelenshchikov, V.M. Kovtunenko, D.I. Kozlov, A.D. Konopatov, L.N. Lavrov, V.L. Lapygin, G.Ye. Lozino-Lozinskiy, Yu.A. Mozzhorin, S.P. Polovnikov, D.A. Polukhin, V.P. Radovskiy, Yu.P. Semenov, A.A. Chizhov, G.S. Titov, K.A. Kerimov, V.A. Shatalov, V.V. Ryumin.

Health Minister Outlines Program for Emergencies

LD1701014689 Moscow World Service in English
2200 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Soviet Health Minister Yevgeniy Chazov says his country is working out a national program for dealing with emergency situations. As part of the program, four centers will be set up to provide emergency aid to sufferers. Each will have facilities to (?set a) makeshift hospital for 300 patients.

Writers' Union Board Plenum Discusses Ecology

PM1801104989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "The Land Needs Help: Plenum of USSR Writers' Union Board"]

[Text] The plenum of the USSR Writers' Union Board which opened 17 January in Moscow became a continuation of the discussion held at the meeting with scientific and cultural figures at the CPSU Central Committee recently.

The writer and publicist Yu. Chernichenko delivered the report on the first item on the agenda: "The Land, Ecology, the New Stage of Restructuring, and Literature."

"The ecological problem is making itself felt at every step in the form of cases of large-scale contamination, planners' errors, and the continuing impoverishment of the flora and fauna," V. Rasputin, who delivered the coreport, said. "Although recognizing many mistakes in recent years, we nonetheless make do with half-truths when it comes to the ecological situation."

Speakers noted that despite the decisions that are being made, the plan to divert the northern rivers is still being implemented. What about the commissioning of the Volga-Don II canal, the Volga-Chogray canal, and others, whose construction is being stepped up, plenum participants asked.

V.K. Yegorov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee ideological department, took part in the plenum's work.

'Malady' Places Group Interests Above Public's

WA1800030589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by Anatoliy Salutskiy under the "Commentator's Notes" rubric: "Group Interest and Egoism"]

[Text] **A strange malady, not yet digested nor assimilated by the public consciousness, has burst into our lives.**

Muscovites of one of the sections of Yasenyev rebelled against the erection of a modest kindergarten wing in their courtyard: What do we want with a kindergarten for children from other houses? And, not heeding the exhortations of the architects, stubbornly demanded: Build it wherever you want, only not at our place. In Timiryazevskiy Rayon just such a stormy squabble arose around a new ATS [Automated Telephone Station]. "We already have telephones," the residents of the surrounding houses clamored at the rayispolkom. "Let the ATS be built where they don't have any phones yet." And they bombarded the higher authorities with angry petitions, expressing their disappointment with perestroyka. They say, "What kind of perestroyka is this, if we the residents are opposed to an ATS right under our windows, and they want to go a head and build it anyway!"

The press and television are carrying more and more examples of this sort, and at times it is hard to discern just where the just defense of civic interests ends and where group egoism, which ignores the needs of society, begins. On a mundane level these stormy outbursts are understandable. Today, as society has gone into motion with renewed faith in the triumph of truth, an intense yearning for self-expression has been aroused in the people's souls. Most often it is sincere and beneficial; but at times it unexpectedly becomes anarchistic from the suddenly-acquired new opportunities. And sometimes these desires for self-expression are turned into a kind of revenge for former offenses.

All sorts of things are happening, and society is faced with going through a period of worsening local conflicts, and must spare no efforts to ensure that in every instance the wheat is separated from the chaff. And, it goes without saying, these conflicts must be discussed openly, as is already often the case today.

However, something else is also rapidly coming into our lives; a kind of group interest that is not yet readily discernible. It dresses up in new, modern clothing—And you wouldn't believe if you hadn't seen it!—the newspapers and magazines proclaim.

In order to explain what I am talking about, I'll cite an example from the economic sphere. And I'll take a branch in which each of us has an interest—the production of medical instruments and medicines. The situation that has evolved here is the same as everywhere: the best plants are heavily burdened with 100-percent state orders, which has caused a considerable amount of sharp criticism. However, the departmental bureaucracy has nevertheless easily managed to curb the critics: Planning for 1989 was entrusted to the plants themselves. Having received their independence, they heaved a sigh of relief: direct self-interest has sharply whipped up their initiative. But I, of course, would not be talking about these well-known advantages, if some unexpected wrinkles had not occurred in the new economic mechanism. Looking over the contours of the plan which the plant outlined for itself, one is suddenly seized by a feeling of alarm; for it becomes clear, that tomorrow a terrible hangover awaits us.

Why? Well, because the medical equipment plants have entered the race for profits, which is now their main criterion, the center of attention, their be-all and end-all, and certain kinds of inexpensive articles which are inconvenient to produce, have been thrown out of the plan. The Kazan plant, for example, has decreased by 20 percent the production of wooden tongue depressors. The council of the workers' collective at the Mozhaysk plant has flatly refused to assimilate new lines of instruments for micro-surgery. At a Leningrad plant, the range of goods has been reduced from 400 categories to 80. In Gudermes, the council of the workers' collective has raised the question of halting production of the well-known apparatus of Doctor Ilizarov—there is, they say, a lot of trouble with them. Thus, already today the "soil" is being prepared for a catastrophic situation: surgeons, equipped with costly devices, will lack the simplest kind of anti-hemorrhage clamps, without which it is impossible to operate.

There you have it, a direct conflict between the interests of the plant collective, which needs profits in order receive bonuses, and to build housing and other amenities, and the interests of the entire society. In the given situation the group interest, which takes on the sense of group selfishness, is in sharp conflict with the national welfare. And it would be silly to admonish the manufacturers on behalf of their conscience. Conscience here is meaningless, and there is nothing to reproach them for. The plant of today has been placed in economic conditions in which it is at times forced to get rid of cheap lines of goods. And that is precisely why every day we experience creeping price increases at the stores, camouflaged under the guise of new names, brands and models of goods.

This, I repeat, is one of the most serious contradictions, in that wages are not predicated on quantity and quality, but on production volume in rubles. This "spending paradox" is built-in to the new economic mechanism, and is making itself known more and more acutely—when many collectives, through no fault of their own, are falling into a hopeless financial situation. Here some would say that—Well, we have to do what we must so that production of a penny clamp is profitable, and that's all there is to it.

I recall that I tried to din just such a divergent thought into the head of my old comrade from the institute, who has been working for many years at a department responsible for the production of medical instruments. Having passed through the great school of plant production, he laughed caustically in response:

"Yes, yes that's just how your fellow-writers think. You are soaring through the clouds around the summit, and you do not take the realities of life into consideration... It is not proper to make a scalpel highly profitable, that is to say expensive. But to simply say—you must not—is not being honest with the people. Our health care is part of the state budget, you understand? Just like the whole social sphere in general. This is an enormous 'chunk' of the national economy. And if I start to fleece profits out of this 'chunk,' to make money out of it with the aid of higher prices, that means that I am dipping into the pockets of the people. This is the way the social sphere differs from a Zhiguli automobile; for this sphere is the most vital, and it is namely through it that social equality is most assuredly realized . Should I start to make the most basic instruments profitable, this would lead to squeezing off the capabilities of the health care system, the people would suffer, and prices for medicine would jump. For a worker in a cooperative, this might be a trifle; but for workers, for pensioners, for young families? And stratification in the social sphere—this is something altogether different, than the difference between the owners of a Zhiguli and a Volga."

Yes, it turns out than in fact not everything is quite so simple as it is in some philosophical discussions of the new economic models. It turns out to be a strange and sad thing: in the pursuit of profits, the workers at the medical instrument plant are unwittingly lowering the standard of living of the people, and that means their own as well. They are, after all, at times forced to reduce output of inexpensive items, thereby increasing the shortage. And in this connection I would like to quote a truly striking Telex, sent to Kazan, which reveals, I would say, the absurdity of the new relationships which have taken shape between the plant and the ministry: "The administrators of Minpribor [USSR Ministry of Instrument-Making, Means of Automation, and Control Systems] once again appeal to the entire collective of your plant, with a request to re-examine the decisions taken on removing certain kinds of medical instruments from the 1989 plan. This undermines the public's faith in the social program for improving medical services, undertaken by the party and the government. The miniscule, temporary advantage to your collective derived from excluding the instruments from the plan, will result in suffering for the nation's populace. We call upon you to show mercy. Kuzmitskiy, Deputy Minister, Minpribor."

Yes, the economists do indeed have something to think about here!

The conflicts between group and nationwide interests are beginning to increasingly penetrate our lives. Reports are coming in from various places about the fact that plants, after switching to self-financing, have sharply reduced their patronage to schools, and they are reneging on building a share of the kindergartens in the city. Of the houses built with the plants' assets, it was forbidden to set aside ten percent for the use of the rayispolkom, saying that "The collective itself now earns its own money, and the previous 'parasitic' practice is over with."

But then what about the teachers and doctors, who "sit" on the state budget and do not build houses? Are they, then, parasites? And what about invalids?.. Right before our eyes a clash has sprung up between the fundamental interests of different groups of the populace, and it is impossible not to take this alarming process in to consideration, and not to notice it. For it threatens dividing the society into parts; it will lead to its moral corruption, and to an increase in social tensions.

The real misfortune in this is that selfish group interest has the perfidious ability to put the evil eye on the most beneficial undertakings, of which an incident which once took place at KamAZ testifies. At that time they had introduced the brigade contract here, and combined the workers of the foundry conveyer and the maintenance workers into a single brigade. This variant turned out to be successful; in the past the maintenance men had had no reason to hurry; but direct self-interest created a marvel—stoppages of the conveyer practically ceased, and labor productivity took a leap. The director's office was in rapture.

All at once the conveyer stopped. Not for an hour, as it used to happen. Not even for a day; but for almost two weeks. Major repairs had to be made. It turns out that the overall concern for material self-interest and the growing wages led to the situation that the repairmen, while bringing stoppages to a minimum, were not repairing the conveyer; they were just patching it up. If the chain breaks, just shove in a big bolt, or a rivet. Faster, faster! Time is money! Such mending took just minutes, but you see if it breaks again a big bolt would not do any good. So they reached an impasse with the conveyer, and as a result the plant suffered great losses. This is how immediate group benefits served them. I too have begun to reflect bitterly on the fact that the public consciousness, which reacts so quickly to the many trends of life, ignores such an acute phenomenon as the rapid development of group interests. And these interests have become especially noticeable in connection with the fact that the initial conditions in which the labor collectives who have switched to self-financing find themselves, vary too widely; just as the concerns which have mastered them. Today the very same economic measures quite often bring benefits to one collective, and to others—harm.

Yes, group interests are beginning to show themselves more often. Take, in particular, such a critical social question as the proposed reform in price-formation. It is being discussed in the press, and one feels no lack of opinions. One of them belongs to Nikolay Shmelyev, who staunchly proposes compensating for the price increase with an increase in interest rates on deposits in savings banks. But let us discuss this question in greater detail; after all, it touches upon the interests of millions of people.

According to the statistics, there are about 300 billion rubles in the savings banks. But in order to make it clear just how great are the deposits, one must divide the total sum by the size of the population. And it turns out there is an average of 1,000 rubles per capita. But is this a lot? After all, 1,000 rubles in savings—that is the minimum emergency reserve in case unanticipated expenses arise. In present times, that would barely be enough for a modest funeral, with a quiet wake for one's close friends and relatives.

However, we are talking about the average size of the deposits. And it is well-known that the level of well-being varies from region to region. There are regions where more than half the savings are in the hands of three percent of the depositors. Can we ignore all this, and propose to compensate for a price rise in the form of increased interest on savings? After all, such a measure would cause severe harm to those people who live modestly even today. Why didn't Shmelyev think about them?

The differences in views on the processes taking place in society have been laid out with sufficient clarity. This difference is of course altogether natural, and we are not at all speaking of placing all opinions on the same level. In a normal, democratically-developing society the interests of different groups of the populace must come into conflict, in order that by means of free discussion, the most rational variants can be sought, taking into consideration the opinion of both the majority and the minority; both all together, and each separately.

This is why the positions of certain people taking part in the discussion of the draft law, which they propose to introduce as amendments, seem very controversial—since the USSR Supreme Soviet can adopt decisions only upon the unanimous consent of all groups of deputies. You see, in such circumstances, we will have not protection against deadlocked situations, when the group interest of a part of the populace will simply block the adoption of decisions, and will hardly stimulate the search for mutually-acceptable variants.

Therefore, the problem, or it would be more proper to say, the alarm for our days, does not consist so much of the conflicts which arise between different strata of society—this, I repeat is a normal matter. The misfortune lines in the fact that public opinion has not yet acknowledged the presence of group interests—that is to say, officially. As a result population groups, and entire strata of economic life have appeared, whose interests are ignored—out of ignorance, and quite often out of the passivity of the representatives of these groups, whose voices are drowned in the clamor of frenzied public debates. But on the other hand there are other groups—professional, creative, territorial, and national groups—whose very active representatives are, as they now say, heard from a great deal, who are trying to pass off their group interests as national interests—thereby monopolizing a certain point of view, and striving to foist it off on society. Striving, in other words, to introduce it to another, but once again arriving at an an impasse.

Procurator General Answers Journalists' Questions

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[Text] Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev, USSR procurator general, together with members of the collegium of the USSR Procuracy, has held a meeting with the mass media in Moscow. Here is a report by our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov.

[Federov] This meeting was devoted to discussing the problems of strengthening the law in the country, the protection of the rights and interests of citizens, and the role of procuracy bodies and journalists in resolving these tasks. An active part in the conversation was taken by members of the All-Union Council on Professional Ethics and on Law of the USSR Union of Journalists, and many of their colleagues from central papers, magazines, publishing houses, and USSR Gosteleradio. In his introduction, Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev, USSR procurator general, said:

[Begin Sukharev recording] I would say that at the moment the procuracy is beginning to emerge—following a certain critical shock imposed by criticism, much of it justified—into a fresh stage of glasnost, so that glasnost can proceed voluntarily, from within the procuracy itself. What yesterday was considered intolerable, insulting, even offensive to professional dignity, what yesterday was still considered impossible—I have in mind this closedness, this secrecy in our professional activities—well, now we are moving into the stage where an investigator who has made a mistake, a procurator who has miscalculated, including infringing on the law, is already himself going to the collective and talking about how this could happen. This is a difficult process. It is not only a psychological break, it is also a break with everything that has existed for many, many years. [end recording]

[Fedorov] Nikolay Bodnaruk, editor of a section of IZVESTIYA, asked one of those awkward questions which, as he said, he would hardly have gotten a clear and principled answer to in the recent times of the era of stagnation, but now...

[Begin recording] [Bodnaruk] Both journalists and the procuracy, the procurators, have to stand up first and foremost for the people. But at the moment, looking at things objectively, the situation is forming whereby the procuracy is more the servant of the administrative system and officialdom than of the people. I will quote a few examples: Let us suppose that Aeroflot cancels meals. We have already been flying for decades, paying and not eating, and this does not bother Aeroflot at all. Minister of Health Comrade Chazov suddenly decides that medical cooperatives are not necessary. In trade—a very ordinary example—there exists the government decision that trade should be subject to the needs of the population, and the shops should be open at times when it is convenient for people and should close when it is convenient for shoppers and not for sales staff. The procuracy again is silent. So this is my question: Will restructuring in the work of the procuracy's bodies in the country mean it will cease to see as its main task the protection of the administrative and official system, and confront the law and the protection of human rights?

[Sukharev] All the questions you have raised are legitimate. You know, if we are now going to think that all this will change quickly, that would also be an illusion, because a lot of what we are dissatisfied with ourselves is tied up, you understand, with very big complexities of an economic and social nature, and we in the procuracy cannot fail to reckon with realities.

But you are exactly right about one thing—there is a lot of inertia. We are still ridding ourselves of the fetters of the past from the point of view of the law, but psychologically, the procurators, particularly in the provinces—and sometimes I even catch myself doing it—are not always successful. There is a lot of work for us to do there. You know, we recently had a collegial session. What do you think the question was? Attitudes to Afghan veterans. This is really a disgrace, there are laws, good laws, but they are not being put into effect.

[Unidentified voice from the hall] [words indistinct] initiative of the press?

[Sukharev] Yes. And, you know, we have punished very many people for such heartlessness, going as far as criminal cases being initated for boorish treatment. But when it was evident, [words indistinct]. And concerning elderly people who have been abandoned in some regions, people that nobody feels they need, this creates a big social [words indistinct]. We are working on it, but we are only getting onto these questions. We are crawling, I would say, out of this criminal law lair of ours. We will definitely be dealing with this. [end recording]

[Fedorov] A question from Burin, observer of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, to Aleksandr Filippovich Katusev, deputy USSR procurator general.

[Begin recording] [Burin] The press has written a lot about the investigators and the supervision of the investigators being under one roof. I have in mind the investigators who report to the procuracy. They cannot coexist, because one way or another, there cannot be any reasonably clear and principled supervision over the investigators. Has the question of putting investigators under the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs been settled?

[Katusev] At the moment, various departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the State Committee for Security, the USSR Procuracy and the Supreme Court have drafted proposals to the executive bodies on the future of preliminary investigations. My personal opinion is that ideally, of course, a committee would be formed, to which all preliminary investigation would be handed over. But we are not ready for this yet. For this reason, we propose that the investigation of criminal cases be handed over for the most part to the Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies. The Procuracy would be left with the investigation of criminal cases concerning the staff of law enforcement bodies, and the procurator would have the right to retrieve any criminal case from any department—that is, we would still have investigations in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and in the military procuracy, to investigate such criminal cases. But this question has not yet been finally settled. [end recording]

[Fedorov] Here is the question which (Lidiya Grafova), observer from LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, put to the USSR procurator general.

[Begin recording] [(Grafova)] When one of our citizens makes a complaint to the law enforcement bodies, let us say, he ceases to be a citizen and turns into a complainant—is (?compelled to be) a petitioner. What is worse, our mail is now literally groaning that our complaints are not read—they are not read at all. In a state governed by law, we probably have to look for other forms—for example, application to the courts, where both sides can openly and competitively try to prove they are right. At the moment, this competitiveness is hampered by the curtailed law on complaints which we have. So what is your opinion about the fact that complaints are ineffective? In a state governed by law can we get rid of complaints, and with what will we replace them?

[Sukharev] I would like to join with you, if you are sure of this. I think you have to apply to the courts. If a bad decision is made, the procurator, as the supervising body, can, as part of ensuring due process, protest that decision. I fully agree. [end recording]

[Fedorov] Journalist (Yuriy Shchekhochikhin).

[Begin recording] [(Shchekhochikhin)] To what extent are the security bodies under the supervision of the procuracy?

[Sukharev] As far as investigation of cases is concerned, and the legality of the activities of these bodies—to the full extent, just like all other bodies and organizations. I can state that to you with full responsibility.

[(Shchekhochikhin)] Secondly, today we are getting very many letters where people ask for the cases to be reopened of their deceased parents and grandparents who died in those terrible years. The cases are hidden away in the security (?committee); they are not allowed to read them. We request; we demand; we turn to the USSR procuracy. We get the same thing—silence. They will not let you read the cases. People want to learn the truth about their relatives. What is being done in this area?

[Sukharev] We have taken—I would say thoroughly and in a major way—the road of the fullest rehabilitation in a considerable mass of cases. We have to sort all of this out. Is there a case or not; what documents are there—you understand? [Words indistinct] and I think a decree will come out soon, a comprehensive decree. I voted for it—for all the cases of those years, of the sad memory of the 1930's and 1950's—for them, with a single decree, a single act, these three-man and two-man tribunals to be declared unconstitutional, illegal, and so on.

Comrades, give us a chance, just look how many problems we have, how many issues that have to be settled immediately, you understand. That is what it is about, and not that there is someone hiding them away and not wanting to provide them. No, that is not it; everything will be there; you will find out everything, look at it, probe into it. [end recording]

[Fedorov] Asked if we have organized crime in our country and what the problems in combating it are, the USSR procurator general replied:

[Begin recording] [Sukharev] We do have organized crime, and not just in the sphere of corruption, but also in general criminal activity, if you can put it that way. It is there. This is a phenomenon which is very important for social science and practice. And in the near future, following research which we will be continuing, we will specially begin the first stage of evaluation of what strategy with which to combat it, using judicial means, so to speak, and prevention. We are working on this. That is our stance—there is a problem, a serious problem. It is not by chance that we are now becoming convinced, with what we have had in the south, around Karabakh. Yes, that is organized crime, as well. I have corruption in mind. We are already beginning to unravel this knot bit by bit. It is there, and we must work better on this problem. [end recording]

[Fedorov] Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev also replied to other questions from journalists.

*Readers Assess Proposed Criminal Legislation

WA1800038089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 89 p 3

[Readers' comments: "We Seek the Truth Through Debates"]

[Text] **A. Gulyayev,** senior scientific associate, USSR MVD VVII, candidate of juridical sciences: "Another Draft is Needed"

In my view, some stipulations in the draft Foundations for Criminal Legislation do not agree with the Fundamental Law. For example, Article 160 of the USSR Constitution reads as follows: "No one can... be subject to criminal punishment without a court sentence, and in accordance with the law." Yet Articles 57 and 70 of the draft essentially ignore this fundamental principle.

The authors of the draft assume that an individual who has committed a crime which is of no great threat to society could be freed from criminal liability not only by the court but also by the prosecutor, the investigator or the authority in charge of the inquest, with the agreement of the prosecutor.

Therefore, an individual recognized as guilty of the commission of a crime could be set free. By this token, the draft Foundations grant, in addition to the courts, the right to other law enforcement authorities as well to consider someone guilty of a crime. The conflict with Article 160 of the USSR Constitution is obvious, for which reason the list of officials entitled to release someone from criminal liability should be eliminated, for this matter exceeds the limits of criminal law and should be solved on the basis of criminal-procedure legislation. However, this as well does not nullify the problem which will have to be solved also in the criminal-procedure area. Let me point out that the current procedure also acknowledges the possibility of releasing the perpetrator of a minor crime by decision of the court or resolution of the investigative authority. It is true that in this case (starting with 1961) such an individual is considered guilty not of the commission of a crime but of an action containing the features of a crime. However, this is merely a play on words, which, judging by the draft Foundations, the new criminal legislation intends to eliminate.

What are the ways to solving this problem? They have long been earmarked in legal science and one can only be amazed at the fact that the draft does not develop them. One way is to totally eliminate any extrajudicial procedure for the release of individuals who have committed criminal actions, although they may not constitute a grave social threat. In such a case those considered guilty can be either criminally prosecuted or released only by the court. I shall not discuss the positive and negative aspects of this option, for I deem a different method as the most preferable: preserving the current procedure of freeing from criminal liability but introducing in the legislation the concept of "criminal act," which would describe an act which dies not constitute a major social threat and for which the perpetrators may be subject to measures of public influence.

The concept of "crime" and "criminal act" could be expressed through the common generic concept of "criminal action" which is quite commonly used and, as we pointed out, is included in legislative acts. With the introduction of the concept of "criminal action" the legal nature of the institution of freeing from criminal liability and its so to say material foundation—the sum total of data relative to the action and the personality of the delinquent—will become clearer. As we know, the need for precisely a sum of data on the nature of the actions and the personality of the perpetrator has long been confirmed by scientific research in solving the problem of the proportionality of the punishment.

Taking this into consideration, I suggest that Article 8 of the draft Foundations read as follows:

"Article 8. Concept of criminal action.

"(1) A crime or a criminal act is a criminal action.

"(2) Considered a crime will be.... (as in the text of the draft).

"(3) Not considered a crime will be.... (as in the text of the draft).

"(4) A criminal action is an act containing the features of a crime but of no major threat to society, providing that the perpetrator could be corrected through the use of measures of social influence."

Such a structure and content of Article 8 would, naturally, require amendments to be made in some other articles in the draft, including Articles 57, 58 and 70.

B. Piskarev, senior legal counsel, honored jurist of the RSFSR, Magadan: "We Can Do Without Informers"

Its humanistic trend is the most attractive part of the draft. Thus, crimes are rated according to their severity more democratically and objectively.

Jurists have long suggested as a base for classifying crimes, from insignificant to particularly severe, according to the degrees of their danger to society, and the corresponding stipulation of punitive measures for such actions. In the current criminal legislation this criterion is not observed, which frequently leads to an inconsistency between the measure of punishment and the social assessment of the severity of the crime. For example, malicious hooliganism, which is punished with deprivation of freedom for no more than 5 years, is considered a severe crime. At the same time, for some reason, setting up a facility for the use of narcotics is not considered a severe crime, although it calls for a deprivation of freedom for no more than 10 years.

This disparity has been eliminated in the draft new legislation. It is precisely in this connection that criminal liability for preparations to commit a crime, harboring and failure to report a crime will apply only in cases of the commission of a severe crime. The spouse and close relatives of the individual who commits a crime will not be held liable for harboring and failure to report a crime unless such actions have been premeditated. In my view, this is extremely important, for it eliminates the old contradiction between law and morality and does not encourage informing, even less so by relatives.

Fully in accordance with the international pact on civil and political rights, which stipulates that "in countries which have not abolished the death penalty, a death sentence can be imposed only for the most severe crimes, the draft Foundations limit the list of crimes for which this exceptional measure of punishment can be applied. It is just that the death penalty cannot be applied to minors and women, and men aged over 60; the possibility of replacing the death penalty with deprivation of freedom for no more than 20 years is stipulated.

Unfortunately, however, the draft does not eliminate the essential contradiction between one of the main stipulations in criminal legislation (Article 3, Point 2) of the impossibility of considering someone guilty of a crime other than on the basis of a court sentence while, at the same time, granting the prosecutor, the investigator and the authorities conducting the inquest, in a number of cases to declare someone guilty of a crime on an extrajudicial basis (draft Articles 57, 58, 70). This conflicts with the USSR Constitution as well.

Excerpts From Letters

I. Lyulchev, chief, Kirghiz SSR Ministry of Justice, Judicial Authorities Administration, Frunze:

As a person who has spent many years at work as a people's judge, I know that the excessive strictness of today's legislation is not yielding results in the elimination of crime. One example in this case is the length of jail terms, and the atmosphere in prison which does not rehabilitate the individual but turns him into a hardened criminal.

Nonetheless, in the case of the commission of a severe crime there should be no easing off. It seems to me that the elimination of the death penalty for bribery with particularly aggravating circumstances is premature, for accepting a bribe related to a specific official position is one of the crimes which helped to develop in the people the belief that everything in our country can be bought and sold.

"Canceling or expunging previous convictions," the draft stipulates, "annuls the legal consequences of the commission of a crime." However, does this not mean that, as in the past, the individual will have to state in filling a form that he has been tried in court or held criminally liable? We must openly state that if a person has paid for his crime no one will have the right to remind him of his past. Therefore, the following should be added to Point 10 of Article 52: "And the restoration of full civil rights."

V. Terentyev, docent, Philosophy Department, Novorossiysk Higher Marine Engineering School:

If a law is humane and just, it should proceed from the fact that the value of a human life can be compared only to that of another human life, for which reason no economic or other harm that has been caused should be put higher than human life, even in the case of espionage and sabotage. However, despite humaneness and justice, we cannot do without the death penalty: The death of a person under certain circumstances of the commission of a crime is justly expiated only with the death of the criminal. That is why I oppose the total elimination of the death penalty.

D. Rizanov, Moscow:

I would formulate the end of the preamble as follows: "An individual who has committed a crime and has expiated his guilt, i.e., has served the court's sentence, becomes once again a citizen of Soviet society with full rights." It seems to me that this would make the definition more accurate and that is precisely the way it should be in a state of law.

Economic

*Decree on Foreign Activity of Enterprises

WA1825004789 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 10 Dec 88 pp 1-2

[Decree of USSR Council of Ministers: "On Further Development of the Foreign Economic Activity of State, Cooperative, and Other Public Enterprises, Associations, and Organizations"; footnote to article: "The provisions of the present decree, which pertain also to production cooperatives, are applied also to all cooperatives that conduct production activity, as well as unions (associations) of such cooperatives."]

[Text] For purposes of a significant expansion of the sphere of foreign economic ties; active inclusion of enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations in this work; further simplification of the existing policy for organizing foreign economic ties; the realization of foreign economic ties under conditions of real currency self-recoupment; and consistent utilization of commodity-monetary relations, the USSR Council of Ministers hereby decrees:

Beginning 1 April 1989, to grant to all enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations whose products (work, services) can compete on the foreign market the right to conduct export-import operations directly. Export-import operations are conducted on the basis of currency self-recoupment and the results are included as an organic part of the total economic activity and affect the formation of economic incentive and currency funds.

Enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations can conduct export-import operations directly by creating for this purpose, if necessary, cost-accounting foreign trade firms, or it can be done on a contractual basis through other foreign economic organizations, the goal here being the achievement of the best conditions for exporting and importing, currency self-recoupment, and self-financing, and proceeding with the idea that the state is not responsible for their commitments. The normatives of currency deductions established for the enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations do not change depending on the foreign economic organization through which their products (work, services) are exported.

The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Ties, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and the USSR Industrial Chamber of Commerce are instructed within a month to develop and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers suggestions concerning the creation of a system for registering enterprises, associations, production associations, and other organizations; and conduct export and import operations.

The state foreign economic commission of the USSR Council of Ministers has been given the right, upon application to the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Ties and the councils of ministers of the union republics, to halt import and export operations of enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations in cases where there is unconscientious competition or their activity harms state interests.

For purposes of creating conditions for increasing the effectiveness of the sale of Soviet goods and services on the foreign market, eliminating unjustified competition among Soviet exporters, reducing outlays involved in sales, and also optimizing procurements abroad, it is considered expedient to form on a voluntary basis various kinds of foreign economic organizations, including interbranch associations, stock holding companies, houses of trade, and other organizations with the participation of producers of the products (work, services), foreign economic associations, and also, if necessary, banks, supply and sales organizations, and other organizations. Here the normatives of currency deductions established for participants of these organizations do not change.

Enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations can export products (work, services) they produce with the exception of individual kinds, a list of which is determined by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Enterprises, associations, and other organizations can import for their own needs, using their own or borrowed money, raw materials, processed materials, batching items, machines and equipment, spare parts, and other goods and services necessary for technical retooling, reconstruction, and expansion of production, protection of the environment, scientific research and experimental design work, and other purposes envisioned by existing legislation. Using their own and borrowed money, production cooperatives import goods (work, services) in keeping with the USSR law "On Cooperation in the USSR."

The USSR Council of Ministers determines the list of goods (work, services) whose importation is prohibited.

Using their own foreign currency funds, organizations are also permitted, under the established policy, to send specialists and other workers to foreign countries to participate in negotiations concerning scientific-technical, production and commercial issues, to attend international exhibitions and trade fairs, to share experience and study, and to conduct other activity in keeping with existing legislation.

State enterprises, associations, and organizations are permitted, by a decision of the labor collectives, to spend all of the available funds in transfer rubles and national currencies of the CEMA countries, and up to 10 percent (up to 15 percent for enterprises, associations, and organizations of the Far Eastern economic region) of the funds in other kinds of currencies, including freely convertible currency, for the acquisition of consumer goods, medications, and medical equipment, and for the strengthening of the material and technical base of the socio-cultural sphere.

The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Ties, with the agreement of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, will introduce for certain periods licenses and quotas for exports and imports of individual goods, kinds of services, countries, or groups of countries in cases where this is required by the condition of payment relations and other economic and political conditions.

In order to provide for state interests in foreign economic ties, the corresponding ministries and departments of the USSR have been instructed to develop proposals concerning the new USSR customs tariff and provide for stage-by-stage introduction beginning 1 January 1989 of a system of measures for operational nontariff regulation of foreign economic ties and to accelerate the development of customs statistics, including accounting for cooperation carried out on the basis of direct ties and border and coastal trade.

It is intended that the policy of consistently developing and deepening the principle of currency self-recoupment of enterprises, associations and organizations, branches of the national economy, and territorial complexes and increasing the effectiveness of their foreign economic activity be continued.

For purposes of expanding USSR participation in the world division of labor, deepening integration processes, especially when realizing new forms of cooperation, and making evaluation of the effectiveness of exports and imports more realistic, beginning on 1 January 1991 there is to be a changeover to the utilization of a new exchange rate in calculations concerning foreign economic operations.

It is considered necessary to simplify the existing system of calculations when conducting export-import activity of state enterprises, associations, and organizations, gradually refraining from the utilization of differentiated currency coefficients when converting actual contract prices into Soviet rubles.

Before changing over to accounts using the new currency rate, beginning on 1 January 1990 they are to apply a 100-percent addition to the exchange ratio between freely convertible currency and the ruble.

For purposes of increasing economic interest and responsibility and expanding independence in conducting foreign economic operations, it is established that deductions into currency funds of state and public enterprises, associations, and organizations from earnings from the exportation of goods (work, services) beginning with the first quarter of 1989 will be deposited into their accounts as payments come in from the foreign buyers. By the same policy, earnings in foreign currency, after deductions are sent to the state according to the established normatives, are transferred into the accounts of production cooperatives that carry out foreign trade activity.

For 1988-1990 normatives of deductions to the state, including deductions for the councils of ministers of the union republics, have been established for production cooperatives operating on an independent basis from foreign currency revenues based on normatives envisioned for enterprises, associations, and organizations of local industry and republic ministries and departments for deducting money into their currency funds.

In cases where the cooperatives are organized at state, cooperative, or other public enterprises, organizations, and institutions, deductions from earnings of the cooperatives in foreign currency to the state—including deductions to ministries and departments of the USSR or councils of ministers of union republics that have jurisdiction over enterprises, organizations, and institutions—are made on the basis of normatives established for the aforementioned enterprises, organizations, and institutions for transferring money into their currency funds.

In order to develop socialist enterprise on the part of enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations and to expand their possibilities of drawing in foreign currency for solving the socioeconomic problems of the labor collectives, there will be free exchange of money in foreign currency funds and purchase and sale of this money for Soviet rubles at contractual prices at currency auctions organized by the USSR Foreign Economic Bank.

For the purpose of more complete development in the USSR of the market for wholesale trade in means of production for transfer rubles, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Gossnab, the USSR State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science, the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, the USSR Ministry of Public Health, and the USSR Ministry of Trade have been instructed to proceed from the idea that the value of goods annually sent for sale along the line of wholesale trade should exceed the volume of funds in transfer rubles located in foreign currency funds of enterprises, associations, production cooperatives and other ministries and departments of the USSR and the councils of ministers of the union republics.

When developing bonus systems for their workers, it is recommended that ministries and departments, enterprises, associations, and organizations that conduct foreign economic activity proceed from the need to step up activity, increase the volume of delivery of export goods, expand the list of export goods, develop cooperative and other forms of collaboration, and provide for concluding interconnected export-import transactions, economizing on foreign currency, and reducing imports.

It is prescribed that enterprises, associations, and organizations that deliver finished products for export deduct part of the money from the foreign currency fund to the enterprises and organizations that are their subcontractors. The amounts of these deductions are determined on a contractual basis taking into account the contribution of the participants to the production of the exported products.

Enterprises, associations, and organizations included in systems of union and union-republic ministries and departments of the USSR deduct 5 percent of the money in their foreign currency funds to the Mosgorispolkom, the Lengorispolkom, the krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, councils of ministers of autonomous republics, and councils of ministers of union republics that do not have oblast divisions and on whose territories the corresponding enterprises, associations, and organizations are located.

It is recommended that the krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, and councils of ministers of autonomous republics, if necessary, create subdivisions of two or three people for contributing to the development of the foreign economic activity of enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations located on their territories.

The Mosgorispolkom, Lengorispolkom, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, and councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics have been granted the right to use up to 50 percent of the money from their foreign currency funds for the acquisition of consumer goods, medications, medical equipment, and equipment for environmental protection and for strengthening the material and technical base of the social and cultural sphere.

In order to increase the interest of Soviet construction and installation organizations in the acquisition of foreign currency, they are permitted to participate in competitions for contracts for the construction on USSR territory of objects for whose construction foreign currency has been allotted.

For purposes of stepping up the work for creating on USSR territory joint enterprises with the participation of organizations and firms of foreign countries, it is prescribed that:

the proportion of shares of the Soviet and foreign interests in the charter fund of the joint enterprise are determined by agreement between them;

the chairman of the board or the general director of the joint enterprise can be a foreign citizen;

fundamental issues of the activity of the joint enterprise will be resolved at a meeting of the board on the basis of unanimity of all members of the board;

questions of hiring and firing, forms and amounts of wages, and also material incentives in Soviet rubles for workers of the joint enterprise will be resolved by the joint enterprise;

goods imported to the USSR by the joint enterprise for the needs of development of production can be taxed in the minimum amount or exempted from the payment of tax;

payment by foreign workers of joint enterprises for housing and other services granted them will be made in Soviet rubles, with the exception of cases envisioned by decisions of the USSR Council of Ministers.

For purposes of additional incentives for the creation of joint enterprises in the Far Eastern economic region, it is considered necessary to release these enterprises from the payment of tax on profits during the first 3 years after the declared profit is received.

The USSR Ministry of Finance is instructed to reduce to 10 percent the tax on profits of joint enterprises created in the Far Eastern economic region.

It is considered expedient to grant the USSR Ministry of Finance the right not to impose a tax for a certain period of time on part of the profit due the foreign participant in the joint enterprise when it is sent abroad or to reduce the amount of this tax if nothing different is stipulated by the agreement between the USSR and the corresponding state. The right is subject to application mainly when the joint enterprises produce consumer goods, medical equipment and medications, and science-intensive products of great national economic significance, and also for joint enterprises located in the Far Eastern economic region.

State enterprises, associations, and organizations have been granted the right to make a decision concerning the creation of joint enterprises, international associations, and organizations with foreign organizations and firms with the agreement of the higher management agency.

With the participation of foreign organizations and firms, production cooperatives create joint enterprises, international associations and organizations with the agreement, correspondingly, of the council of ministers of the union republic without oblast division, the council of ministers of the autonomous republic, the krayispolkom, oblispolkom, Mosgorispolkom, or Lengorispolkom in the place where the cooperative is located or, with the agreement of the ministry (department) at whose enterprise (organization, institution) the cooperative has been formed.

New construction or large-scale reconstruction during the creation of joint enterprises, international associations, and organizations are carried out with the agreement of the territorial management agencies.

In other cases, Soviet participants in joint enterprises, international associations, and organizations submit the corresponding information to territorial management agencies.

USSR ministries and departments have been instructed to make changes in the corresponding departmental normative acts, instructions, and methodological guidelines taking the requirements of the present decree into account.

Scientific

Cosmos-1991 Satellite Launched 18 January

LD1801142889 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—The Soviet Union today launched an earth satellite of the Cosmos series using a Soyuz booster rocket to continue the exploration of outer space.

Cosmos-1991 has been placed in the orbit with the following parameters:
—initial period or revolution—90.4 minutes,
—maximum distance from the earth's surface—401 kilometres,
—minimum distance—216 kilometres,
—inclination of the orbit—70 degrees.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

Activities on Mir Orbital Complex Reported

Astrophysical Experiments

LD1301124889 Moscow TASS in English 1241 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from the Mission Control Centre:

Soviet cosmonauts working onboard the Mir orbital complex will conduct experiments on Friday using the Rozhen Astronomical Complex and the Parallax-Zagorka Spectrophotometer created by Bulgarian specialists. The purpose of the experiments is to study physical processes taking place in the ionosphere and the upper layers of the atmosphere.

Astrophysical studies occupy an important place in the work of the crew. Experiments with the use of scientific instruments of the quant module are one of the main directions of this extensive programme. Several sessions of observations over a roentgen pulsar in the small Magellanic Cloud and over the nucleus of an active galaxy in the Canis Venatici constellation were held recently within the framework of the international roentgen project. A series of surveys of separate sections of the Vela constellation were conducted with the help of the Glazar telescope that registers radiation in the ultraviolet part of the spectre.

Medical control results show that Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev, and Valeriy Polyakov are in good health.

Cosmonauts' 17 Jan Activities

LD1701125989 Moscow TASS in English 1243 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—By a TASS correspondent reporting from mission control centre:

The Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov are continuing their work on board the orbital station Mir (peace).

In keeping with the flight programme, the cosmonauts are assigned to conduct maintenance operations on a regular basis. Today, they are busy inspecting structural elements, station interior and equipment, and checking the functioning of individual life-support system units.

A programme of astrophysical experiments envisages a series of measurements of high-energy electron and positron beams in near-earth space with the use of the magnetic spectrometer Maria.

Today, the crew will adjust equipment for registering dynamic load on the structure of the complex and carry out a number of technical experiments.

The three cosmonauts are feeling well and are in good health.

'Progress' To Deliver Cargo in Feb

LD1601213489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] The next Progress automatic cargo craft is being prepared for launch at the Baykonur Cosmodrome. The launch is planned for the first days of February. The craft will deliver fuel, supplies of water and food, and scientific equipment to the Mir station, where three cosmonauts are working. The cargos includes cinegraphic and photographic film for filming the earth's surface.

Arctic Research Station To Be Evacuated

LD1401183989 Moscow TASS in English 1746 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] Leningrad January 14 TASS—The Soviet atomic-powered icebreaker Rossiya is to set out on its voyage to the northeastern coast of Greenland in the coming days to evacuate the Severny Polyus (North Pole)-28 drifting ice research station which completes its drift 120 km away from the island.

A group of staff members of the Soviet Arctic and Antarctic Research Institute, who will take part in the operation, left Leningrad for Murmansk by air today to embark the icebreaker.

"The evacuation of the drifting ice station has not been caused by any concern for the condition of the ice floe or the polar researchers' life," Nikolay Kornilov, director of the group, emphasized in an interview with a TASS correspondent.

"The programme for research and observation of the enviroment is being implemented to the full."

The scientist said the evacuation of the situation was prompted by the fact that it drifted too far from coastal airfields and that transportation planes were unable to reach it without intermediate landings on ice, which was too expensive and time-consuming.

The SP-28 station had been set up to the north of the Novosibirskiye Islands in May 1986. Since then it drifted across the near-polar area and was at a distance of 28 km away from the North Pole in spring last year. At the concluding stage of the drift, the station was picked up by the east Greenland current, which is now rapidly bringing it into the relatively warm waters of the North Atlantic. A third shift of polar researchers are now keeping vigil at the station.

According to plan, upon leaving Murmansk, the Rossiya icebreaker will navigate round the Spitzbergen from the south, will enter the North Atlantic and, sailing along the Greenland coast, will approach the area of the drift of the SP-28 from the south.

Experts expect that the entire operation will take about ten days. The ice situation, following an anlysis of satellite-provided data, does not appear complex. The greatest concern is caused by a clear-water passage in Barents Sea and the North Atlantic where the icebreaker may encounter rather rough sea.

Icebreaker Leaves for Arctic

LD1601130489 Moscow TASS in English 1209 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Murmansk (Russian Federation's far north) January 16 TASS—The nuclear-powered vessel Rossiya, with a large group of scientists and specialists studying the far north onboard, left Murmansk port on Monday for the Arctic.

The voyage's participants will carry out two programmes of scientific research. First, the Rossiya will go to SP-28 drifting station and take off polar explorers that cannot continue their experiments because of the quick melting of their ice-floe.

Then the vessel will help the scientific research icebreaker Otto Schmidt break solid ice. The Otto Schmidt will replace SP-28 station. The icebreaker's mission will last until the middle of March and end its trip in the region between Greenland and Jan-Mayen Island.

Military

Akhromeyev on U.S. Threat, Army Restructuring

PM1301171589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Jan 89 First Edition pp 1,3

[Interview with Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev by S. Kosterin, under the rubric "Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Fedorovich Akhromeyev Answers Questions From SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Readers": "The Army and Restructuring"—date and place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Looking through the list of questions that had been selected in advance from the editorial mailbag for our conversation, the marshal remarked briefly: "Fine, I can answer all this. But a very important question is missing from this list. With your permission, I will raise this question first. Let us put it like this: Is there a military danger and threat to the Soviet Union today?"

We Cannot Be Addressed From a Position of Strength

[Akhromeyev] So, do this danger and threat exist and, consequently, do we need our Armed Forces, and what form should they take? I think the answer to this question will clarify a great deal in the polemics and disputes we now have in our country, especially as you hear people express the opinion that there is now no military danger and threat to the Soviet Union. I am convinced that this opinion is wrong.

The Soviet Union and its allies are sincerely trying to improve their relations with the United States and other states in the North Atlantic alliance. A great deal has been done in this direction in the last 3 years. Soviet-U.S. relations have improved as a result of the talks between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan; the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles has been signed and ratified, and has entered into force; talks are being held on reducing strategic nuclear weapon; and the drafting of the mandate for talks on reducing arms and armed forces in Europe is near completion. The Soviet Union's unilateral initiatives are well known. Tension has been eased as a result. The military danger and threat has been reduced in the world as a whole and for the Soviet Union. There is no question that all this has enormous significance.

But something else is also happening. Leaders of the U.S. Administration and the Pentagon still repeat, month in and month out, that they are pursuing a policy of strength in relation to the Soviet Union. Recently, for example, the leader of the U.S. Administration said: "From the very beginning, our administration has tried to conduct a policy toward the Soviet Union that is based on realism, cogent dialogue with the Soviets, and—and I emphasize this point—on strength..." The same is said by the leaders of the future administration, which will soon be coming to power. U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci never tires of repeating, month in and month out, that the United States' main enemy is the Soviet Union. True, they must be given their due—U.S. state and military leaders often follow up the claim that the Soviet Union is their main enemy with the remark that the United States has no intention of unleashing a war against the Soviet Union.

We take statements by U.S. state and military leaders seriously. After all, these are representatives of a great power who are speaking. But we take a no less serious, responsible attitude to the United States' practical actions in the military sphere. They are as follows.

The United States has a total of 2,130,000 regular armed forces and a national guard and reserve of 1,160,000—which makes 3,290,000 in all. The majority are stationed in U.S. territory, where they are not monitored by anyone in any way, as at the moment no accords on cuts and inspections apply to them.

In Europe and the adjacent seas and oceans, the North Atlantic alliance keeps a group of 3.5 million personnel on a state of alert (more than 600,000 of whom belong to the United States).

During the forties and fifties, the United States deployed hundreds of its military bases on the territory of other countries surrounding the Soviet Union and stationed more than 500,000 men at these bases, with various arms.

What is the point of this? Could we regard all this as a potential military threat to our country and our allies? We could. We military people are obliged above everyone else to take all this into consideration. It is precisely these armed formations that the United States uses to pursue the policy of strength toward the Soviet Union of which it so often speaks.

I would like to be understood correctly: I am not an advocate of military confrontation [protivoborstvo]. It is necessary to continue acting along the avenue of reciprocal reductions of nuclear, space, and conventional arms. Whenever possible, we must also embark on unilateral reductions. I would like to emphasize: The decision to reduce our Armed Forces by 500,000 men, announced by M.S. Gorbachev in his 7 December UN speech, is perfectly correct and justified from both the political and military viewpoints. It was thoroughly considered from the military point of view. The Soviet Union's defense is reliably guaranteed in the new conditions that have developed in 1985-1988.

In this context, the question of reducing defense spending was justifiably raised. The Soviet Union's actions in this period provide proof and example of how the military danger and threat can and must be reduced by political methods. I am in favor of patient talks, of finding acceptable solutions in the future. But, in order to pursue a peace-loving and independent policy, the Soviet Union also needs military strength. Of what magnitude should it be? This depends, apart from anything else, also on the forces and degree of readiness available to the United States and the North Atlantic alliance.

The Soviet people firmly intend to pursue restructuring in the country exactly as conceived by the CPSU. There must be confidence that nobody can interfere with our choice.

Therefore, there is no special need to speak up against some—not all that innocent and naive—claims by some figures about the supposed disbandment or 50-percent reduction of our Armed Forces. As a Communist and military man, I am against such a moral demobilization.

M.S. Gorbachev said in his report to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference: "...Have the imperialist sources of aggression and wars disappeared, by any chance? No, we do not forget the threat to peace posed by imperialist militarism, and we believe that there is still no guarantee that the positive processes now under way are irreversible..."

We would be correct in saying that the situation developed for the better in the second half of last year, but full guarantees of irreversibility are still lacking. It must be aimed for with joint efforts.

War Would Be a Catastrophe for Mankind

[Kosterin] Comrade Marshal, the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee adopted the Pact states' military doctrine in 1987. The Soviet Union has its own military doctrine. What is its content?

[Akhromeyev] Indeed, the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee adopted a new defensive doctrine in the summer of 1987. Each state that has signed the Warsaw Pact developed its own national military doctrine based on it. We elaborated the Soviet defensive military doctrine. It has a military-political and a military-technical aspect.

A summary of its military-political aspect: The Soviet Union does not intend to be the first to attack anyone; it will never, under any circumstances, be the first to use nuclear weapons; it does not consider anyone its potential enemy; and it has no territorial claims against anyone.

Not just the political, but also the military-technical aspect of our doctrine is important for practical work by us military men. Its content is a definition of the military threat against our country and our allies on the basis of an assessment of the military-political situation. It is not all that difficult to define: The military leadership of the United States and the North Atlantic alliance itself names the Soviet Union as its main probable adversary.

Of course, if the United States and its allies were to pledge, just as we have done, not to be the first to launch war under any circumstances, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, the situation would be much calmer. But so far they have refused to give such a pledge. We must bear this in mind.

The military-technical aspect of the doctrine also examines the following question: What kind of aggression should we be ready to repel? Taking the North Atlantic alliance's position into account, the answer is this: We must prepare to repel a possible aggression using both nuclear and conventional arms.

A kind of paradox emerges. There is an agreed statement by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan, adopted in Geneva in 1985, that a nuclear war must not be fought under any circumstances because it would lead to a catastrophe for mankind. This is obvious to everyone today. At the same time, however, official military leaders of North Atlantic alliance states declare that, under certain circumstances, they could be the first to use nuclear arms. This means that we are forced by circumstances to prepare to repel aggression using both conventional and nuclear arms.

It is obvious that quite a few people, including Soviet people, would disagree with this conclusion of mine. But this is the harsh reality of the present. In this context, another very important question logically arises: What sort of armed forces should the Soviet Union have to ensure its security?

A complex question. Thanks to the intense work of the Soviet people and the peoples in the fraternal countries, we have achieved military equilibrium in nuclear forces with the North Atlantic alliance states and an overall military equilibrium. But it cannot be said that we have always acted in an irreproachable manner while resolving this task. Unfortunately, we resolved some questions from the positions of military confrontation. Not all opportunities were utilized for reaching agreements to ensure that the sides' armed forces and armaments were at the minimum necessary level. Of course, we were not the main culprits in the arms race, but we must admit to part of the responsibility for it.

The Soviet Union's foreign policy line elaborated in 1985-1986 corrected these shortcomings. In line with the 19th all-union party conference decisions on shifting to qualitative parameters in building the Armed Forces and with the new defensive doctrine, today we are restructuring our Armed Forces, bringing them to a state whereby, in terms of their quantity and quality, they are capable of resolving the task of reliably repelling a possible aggression. And nothing more.

A series of important decisions have been made on this issue, and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke about them in his UN speech on 7 December 1988.

A Formation That Is Reliable Through Its Cohesion

[Kosterin] The USSR Armed Forces are an important component of our society. Their link with the people is indissoluble; the building of the Armed Forces is the people's own cause. It is a rare family that does not have some connection with military service. A revolutionary restructuring is under way in the country, and glasnost and socialist democracy are being established. What forms do these processes take in the Army, if I may refer to our Armed Forces in that way for the sake of brevity?

[Akhromeyev] As an old General Staff worker who served there for the last 15 years, let me say first of all what the General Staff and the central apparatus in general are doing for restructuring in the Army and Navy.

For all of us the most important documents are the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference and the decisions of CPSU Central Committee plenums. The concrete military-political documents setting forth demands on the Armed Forces are the new defensive military doctrine and the CPSU Central Committee resolutions on strengthening military discipline in the USSR Armed Forces, improving political and military education, and strengthening the political awareness and morale of personnel.

The General Staff, the Main Political Directorate, and the directorates of branches of the Armed Forces are developing the defensive military strategy, the art of operations, and tactics. They are organizing their practical implementation in the training of higher command personnel and commanders of staffs, political organs, troops, and naval forces. They are also organizing the restructuring of the Army and Navy on the basis of defense sufficiency—that is, they are elaborating measures such that the Army and Navy are at the minimum necessary levels [chtoby armiya i flot byli minimalno neobkhodimymi], but are constantly ready to rebuff possible aggression.

Much work is in progress to give our Armed Forces a defensive character. The decision to reduce the Army and Navy by 500,000 men also requires great creative efforts and organizational measures from the supreme military organs of management. Much work is required if it is to be implemented in a well organized way and without any decline in combat readiness.

All these are problems of military-political significance. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government have entrusted the leadership of the USSR Ministry of Defense with their fulfillment. All this work is being done collectively, on the basis of wide discussion and the elaboration of the most correct decisions, in an atmosphere of democracy and respect for the opinion of the workers taking part.

What I have mentioned is only a part of the work that concerns the top echelon. In the Armed Forces as a whole, under the leadership of commanding officers and political workers at every level, continuous work is in progress to restructure and improve the quality of combat and political training, strengthen military discipline, improve the educational and material base, and improve everyday arrangements for personnel.

There are many difficulties facing us, as well as our society as a whole, in the course of restructuring. We have no ready formulas; we are finding them in the course of practical work.

[Kosterin] We are building a state governed by the rule of law on the principle of the universal and equal responsibility of everyone before the law. Is it necessary, in your view, to draw up a Law on the Defense of the USSR?

[Akhromeyev] A Law on the Defense of the USSR is currently being drafted. It will be submitted for examination by our supreme organ of power—the Congress of People's Deputies.

Why has the need for such a law arisen? The duties of the Armed Forces to the people and state are defined by the USSR Constitution and there are a number of other legislative acts that reflect important defense issues in one form or another. But it is evidently right, in the course of building a state governed by the rule of law, to adopt a fundamental law on the country's defense reflecting the main questions of responsibility for the Motherland's defense and the life and activity of the Armed Forces, which would be binding both on the Army and Navy and on all other organs and departments of our state.

[Kosterin] We have recently encountered proposals concerning the supposed advantages of the "volunteer principle" in forming the Army, with paid volunteers, so to speak. What is your attitude to views of this kind?

[Akhromeyev] Our Armed Forces are formed in accordance with the principle of universal military service. I believe this is the correct principle for our conditions. It was introduced after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. I cannot understand why certain comrades are coming out against universal military service. I regard the volunteer principle of forming the Army and Navy and the emergence of "paid volunteers" as unacceptable for the Soviet Union. In some countries, by virtue of their specific geographical location, such armies exist, but only in peacetime. In wartime those countries, too, introduce universal military service.

The "volunteer" principle also contains a violation of social justice. All citizens should prepare for the defense of the Motherland. Moreover, a mercenary army would cost our people far more than it costs at present. We must reckon with this, too. Those comrades who propose the introduction of the volunteer principle in manning our Armed Forces also fail to take into account the many other difficulties that arise in putting this principle into practice.

[Kosterin] We also know of claims that our defense spending in peacetime is considerable and must be reduced. How can you combine the principle of reliable defense of the Motherland with the normal development of our national economy and with increasing the people's prosperity?

[Akhromeyev] I have already spoken about that in part. The Soviet defensive doctrine provides for a reduction in military spending. The reduction of the Armed Forces by 500,000 men provides simultaneously for a reduction in spending on military needs. We military men understand the need for such measures and participated actively in the preparation of the decisions that were adopted.

It is necessary to continue to carefully monitor the military-political situation. As the military danger and threat decline, new decisions can be adopted. The two things are indissolubly linked...

[Kosterin] Excuse me, Sergey Fedorovich, let me interrupt you. We recently saw and heard in one of our television news programs that the United States has created an "invisible aircraft," invisible to radar, costing fabulous sums. One naturally feels concerned: Reducing military spending is necessary, but let us not lag behind...

[Akhromeyev] We keep a fairly attentive eye on the state of military hardware in the world and take steps to be up to whatever level of development is necessary. And not everything depends solely on the scale of military spending. You must also spend resources economically and skillfully. We work in close collaboration with our scientists and workers in the defense sectors of industry. Much depends on the organizational work of officers, the mastery of combat hardware by personnel, and the quality of combat training.

We Are Involved in a Common Cause

[Kosterin] The Army is not just the sentry watching over our peaceful labor, it is also a builder. It is involved in our national economic process...

[Akhromeyev] That is true. Military subunits take an active part in eliminating the aftermath of natural disasters or accidents. Military units' actions in the Armenian earthquake zone are an example of this. Soldiers were among the first to come to the aid of the Armenian people. Tens of thousands of servicemen have been involved in saving people in trouble. The soldiers, sergeants, and officers have acted selflessly, regardless of the dangers. It was so during the cleanup after the accident at the Chernobyl AES, where our troops are still involved in work even now. Generally speaking, military units are the first to arrive on the scene of an accident. Indeed, this is our duty to the Soviet people. In peacetime and wartime, troops are defending their people.

The Army is actively involved in tackling tasks in the national economic sphere too. Military units carry out a number of planned economic tasks. Every year they participate in the harvest; tens of thousands of trucks and servicemen are allocated to the task. The Armed Forces are currently involved in building highways in the northern part of the country and in the RSFSR's Non-Chernozem zone: in the Arkhangelsk, Vologda, Kirov, Kostroma, and Perm oblasts and in Udmurtia. It is big work of national importance—the Army's participation in developing the Russian Non-Chernozem zone. We approach it very seriously.

It must not be forgotten that the Armed Forces provide our youngsters with a profession. Every year hundreds of thousands of young men become reservists. They return with the skills they have learned during service, as drivers, mechanics, signalers, electronics engineers, and other specialties in short supply in the national economy. The Army and Navy temper young people physically and morally. As a rule, army tempering has a favorable influence on a young person's future life and activity.

[Kosterin] As is known, the Army is a constantly self-renewing organism, if only as a result of the annual draft. But in what way does the officer corps change? There is much talk among the people at the moment about its rejuvenation, a phenomenon the military jokingly calls "greening." Who are they, the new commanders?

[Akhromeyev] The backbone of the Army is the officer corps, and the ensigns as well. They are mostly young people. Some 80 percent of our officers are under 40. Nearly all Soviet officers have higher education. Some 3-4 percent of the officer corps is replaced annually. Army service has never been easy. It is not easy serving as a soldier. But it is even harder being an officer. He is reponsible for the constant readiness of a subunit or unit to carry out tasks both in peacetime and if the "storm breaks." He is responsible for the training and education of subordinates. This responsibility cannot be made to fit neatly into an eight-hour working day. An officer is ever ready to go from the west to the east, from the north to the south to serve. And his family with him. Command activity requires an officer's every last effort. He must always be prepared to act in the most difficult situation. The profession of being an officer means dedicated service to one's socialist homeland.

[Kosterin] So-called nonregulation relations are often mentioned in the press and in literature. At the same time, the Army is, perhaps, the best educator of young people. Youngsters become men in the Army, they appreciate the responsibility they have to the people, and they are entrusted with formidable combat weapons. Naturally, even certain manifestations of nonregulation relations—bullying—sometimes cause great anxiety among Soviet people. What is your view of the problem?

[Akhromeyev] The press and literature, and parents who have sent their sons into the Armed Forces often touch on this problem, and rightly so. Unfortunately, in the past 15-20 years, nonregulation relations—a phenomenon that is impermissible in our Army—have become widespread. I have served in the Army for 49 years and I know that the phenomenon did not exist 25-30 years ago. The fact that it has appeared is the fault of the officers, the leaders of the Army. We overlooked this phenomenon that is alien to our society and allowed it to develop into a serious problem.

The leadership of the Armed Forces, commanders, and political workers have adopted a number of measures in recent years to sharply reduce and then totally eliminate nonregulation relations. In the past 3 years the incidence of this has been reduced by 40 percent. In order not to excuse, but eliminate this alien phenomenon altogether I believe that everyone must combat bullying: in the Army and in schools, in vocational and technical colleges, and in institutes. In short, common efforts are needed.

[Kosterin] Often the opinion is expressed that the presence of the limited contingent of Soviet forces in the Republic of Afghanistan and their combat actions in defense of the April Revolution in that country were a tragic mistake and the sacrifices were in vain. The international duty that Soviet soldiers took upon themselves has been questioned. What can we say in reply to this to the thousands of fathers and mothers of our soldiers who died carryying out their international duty, to the soldiers who are still serving in the Republic of Afghanistan? What was and what is Afghanistan to the Army?

[Akhromeyev] I think the full answer to this was given at the 19th all-union party conference. At that conference Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev expressed on behalf of the party and people profound gratitude to the soldiers and officers and civilian specialists—to all those whose lives were affected and who were burned by the flames of that war. The decision to withdraw our troops from the Republic of Afghanistan was a reflection of the wisdom and the new political and moral experience accumulated over the years of revolutionary restructuring.

The soldiers, sergeants, and officers courageously carried out and are carrying out their international military duty. In that sense we have again received confirmation of the lofty moral and combat qualities of our Army, of the fact that our young people are worthy replacements for those who routed the Hitlerite aggressors in the Great Patriotic War. I am sure that the Afghan people, too, duly appreciate and will appreciate in the future the Soviet soldiers' mission in Afghanistan.

Discipline Is No Obstacle To a Person of Talent

[Kosterin] In readers' letters you come across the opinion that the Army levels people's abilities down through "blind" obedience to orders, and that it virtually kills talent. Is that so? What opportunities are their in the course of service to maintain a person's individuality and develop his abilities? How, with your experience, do you answer this question?

[Akhromeyev] I completely disagree with the contention that the Army kills talent.

The originality of the Army consists in strict obedience and the unfailing obligation to execute orders. But in the Army we do seek to ensure that ability and talent are displayed when an ordinary soldier, sergeant, or officer carries out the tasks confronting him and that the development of subordinates' abilities and talents is ensured. This is necesssary not only during war. If in peacetime officers are to train a serviceman or a military collective and create a combat-effective military subunit, they must be intelligent and tactful, love people, bear a sense of responsibility to the people, and possess talent.

Military service, if treated as a vocation and carried out conscientiously, to a high standard, and with full commitment, will not bar the way to talented people, whether ordinary soldiers or officers.

My own service convinces me that this is true. The Army is everything for me. I joined as a 17-year-old. I donned my sailor's greatcoat on 1 September 1940. I began the Patriotic War as a junior commander and ended as a tank battalion commander. I entered the armored troops' academy 7 years after graduating from school and experiencing the war. I graduated from the academy with a gold medal. Most officers are such. Military discipline has never cramped the abilities of ordinary soldiers, sergeants, or officers, the manifestation of these abilities in practical work, nor crushed them as individuals.

[Kosterin] Sergey Fedorovich, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA readers would like to learn a bit more about you as a person. How do you spend your spare time, what do you read, what are your hobbies, if you have any....

[Akhromeyev] I have had a passion for military service all my life and a desire to do more. When I was a regimental and divisional commander, the main thing was to keep these in readiness to carry out any task. I have worked 15 years in the General Staff. That work demands full committment.

I was brought up on the Russian classics, on Valeriy Bryusov, Aleksandr Blok, and Vladimir Mayakovskiy. I love the writers of my generation, the works of Aleksandr Tvardovskiy, Mikhail Isakovskiy, Konstantin Simonov, Yuriy Bondarev.... I enormously respect them, their work, and their honesty and service to the Soviet people.